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The Editors
25 YEARS OF SPACE

E.J. Dionne, Jr.
SOCIAL ISSUES?

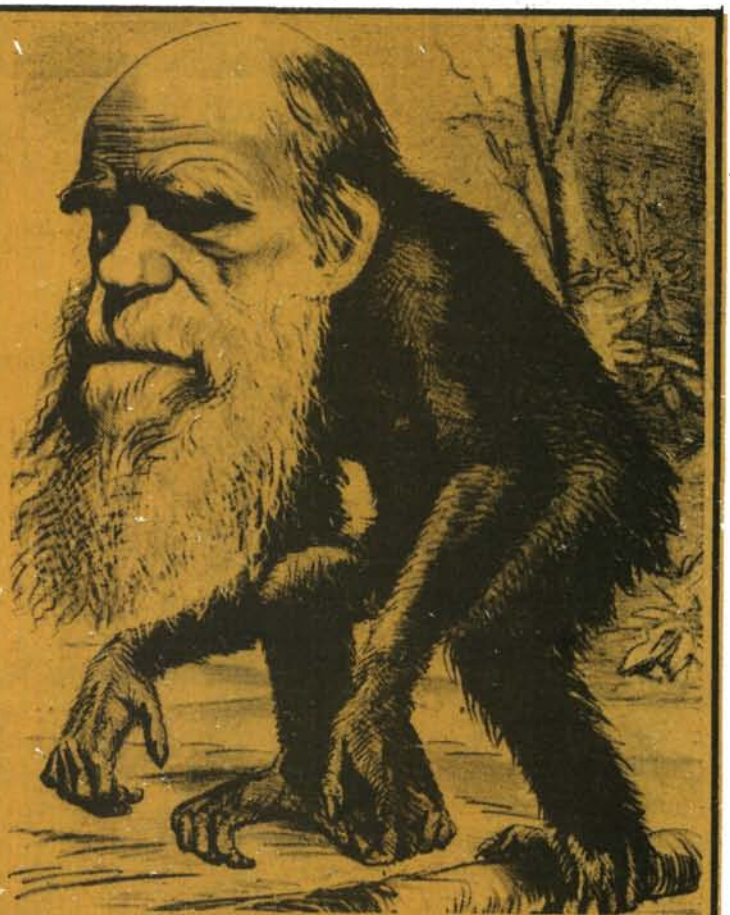
ONE DOLLAR

OCTOBER 22, 1982

Biology Quiz

The illustration on the right represents

(A) Charles Darwin
(B) Jerry Falwell
(C) God the Father
(D) The author of *The Secular Humanist Manifesto*
(E) King Kong



CREATIONISM

FRANCIS J. FLAHERTY **THE SOCIAL STAKES**
ANNE BRENNAN **THE RELIGIOUS ISSUES**

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Correspondence

Illicit but traditional

Battle Creek, Mich.

To the Editors: Re your editorial, "Disappearing Priests" [Aug. 13], I submit that change will not occur without illicit, but prophetic, action. Men and women — ordained or not — must begin forming communities and breaking bread in the name and memory of the Lord. Theologians have worked out the sacramental significance of such action. Schillebeeckx's most recent writings on ministry, for example, are cogent and clear.

Church authorities will react as church authorities always have reacted—with dismay, denunciation, and then debate. After debate will come reluctant acceptance and then felicitous approval and promotion. Another change will have come to the Roman tradition in conformity to the "traditional" process of change in the Roman tradition. And church authorities will then have one more piece of church life to structure and institutionalize for the welfare of us all.

"JOHN APPLESEED"

Nations as blood clots?

Bryans Road, Md.

To the Editors: At twelve years of age I became an advocate of U.S. entrance into the League of Nations, influenced strongly by my father, who campaigned on the League issue for Democratic presidential candidate James M. Cox and who later, during the Roosevelt administration, was active in foreign affairs issues as a U.S. Congressman. At sixty-six I have behind me serveral decades of participation in the politics of social justice and peace. I'm more than ever convinced that to halt the arms race — both in conventional weapons that have been killing people in massive numbers and in nuclear weapons that might end the human story — the nation state system must be modified.

Over thirty-five years ago at the close of World War II, Nathaniel Peffer, then professor of international relations at Columbia University, summed up the matter: "The choice is between world government, either in a single state or closely bound federation, *and an international organization limited to police power for preservation of peace between nations*. These are the alternatives. No other has been or can be visualized."

The bishops ["The Bishops — the Bomb," Aug. 13] might take note that the real religion of most American Catholics is a form of nationalism — Americanism — and their deepest anxiety as citizens is "national security." (On that subject I recommend to the bishops the work of a distinguished Catholic academician and historian, the late Carlton J.H. Hayes, entitled *Nationalism: A Religion*.) Until the American flag is removed from the sacristies of Catholic churches, and replaced perhaps by the flag of the United Nations, we are not likely to get far with arms reduction.

Buckminster Fuller put it a little strongly but well: "Individual nations are blood clots in the world's circulatory system."

BERT SISSON
President,
Interfaith Peace Guild

Newman as Küng?

Mesilla Park, N.M.

To the Editors: Father Edward E. Kelly's article on the canonization of Newman [Sept. 10] should be re-named, "Canonizing the Newman that Father Kelly would make him out to be." Two prejudices (at least two) are implicit in his article: 1) that John Henry Newman has a great deal in common with Hans Küng; and 2) that Newman was gay. There may be some validity in Father Kelly's point that the canonizing of Newman would be an encouragement to "thousands of Küngs," and an inspiration for "other homosexually oriented people today," provided that presuppositions 1 and 2 are correct. However, Father Kelly doesn't adequately support either of these two claims. His assertion that George Tyrrell, the English Modernist of the early twentieth century, did not favor the canonization of Newman is irrelevant, because Tyrrell's extreme idea of the development of doctrine put him on a shore opposite that of Newman's and outside of the visible church which Newman dearly loved. So what if Tyrrell did not favor Newman's canonization in his time! Father Kelly's suggestion, of course, that Newman's intellectual achievements as an educator should give him claim to the title of Doctor of the Church is a worthwhile idea. However, albeit that Father Kelly would like to give quite a new meaning to *heroism* and *sanctity*, one suspects that deeper probing into the personality of the real Newman would reveal that coupled with this Oxford liberal's intellectual acumen are many more of the basic Christian virtues associated with the "heroes" of Christendom. Father Kelly reveals a preoccupation with what is fashionable and popular theologically when he asks for new criteria for canonizing saints today. Would the results of a Gallup poll showing that a majority of the world's professed Christians viewed Newman as a saint be sufficient to satisfy the requirements for his canonization? The people would have spoken, the *vox populi* à la Gallup would have had its day. But all of this is reminiscent of George Tyrrell, who was discredited by the magisterium for advancing the theory that Catholic truth is established by majority rule or by the popular trend.

Newman himself would reject his own canonization, if not for motives of humility, then because he would not want to see distorted his own theological statement of the development of doctrine. No matter how resounding his acclaim by the *vox populi*, to be a canonized saint in the

(Continued on page 574)

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THE PROMISE & PERILS OF SPACE

THE SPACE AGE blasted open twenty-five years ago on October 4, 1957, when the Russians rocketed Sputnik I 560 miles above the earth. That event undoubtedly brought out our best and worst, the "right stuff" and our craziest—as the American romance with vast empty spaces has ever done. A little more than a decade and $25 billion later, in July of 1969, the U.S. Apollo 15—our "moondoggle" according to many scientists of the time—landed on the moon's Sea of Tranquillity while the unmanned Russian Luna 15 crashed into the moon's Sea of Crisis. (Symbolists beware!) What, as of this date, has that "little step" brought us—and mankind?

The answer is mixed.

Like Galileo's telescope or Gutenberg's printing press, the new space technology is obviously altering the way we feel, sense, and think about our world. As Walter Ong has argued in a cascade of books over the years, a technological innovation of this scope shifts the human sensorium, our basic way of perceiving things. It's given us something of a god's eye view of our planet. Arguably the most important contribution provided by space activities is not information about the universe but about the earth: how atmosphere, oceans, sunlight, and life forms interact ecologically and how human action alters those systems to make the planet habitable or inhabitable. In the long run, this ecological or systems-approach thinking, as yet in its infancy but clear in the work of someone like the late Erich Jantsch or the late Gregory Bateson, may equip future generations to assume the care and feeding of the planet in ways that we and our ancestors could not possibly achieve. A new ecological mentality bids to make our narrow humanisms and nationalisms appear as small-minded as they are.

Practical, civilian benefits of the new technology have followed the "trickle-down" route from the preeminent military use. The communications revolution needs scarcely a mention; communication satellites have cut transmission costs—developing nations are now the highest users (thirty-eight percent) of such systems. The effects on climatology, geology, and agronomy may be equally striking. Using "remote sensing" data from general purpose satellites (LANDSATS), U.S. officials have made more accurate estimates of Soviet wheat harvests than the Russians themselves. Similarly, LANDSAT images are being used in arid areas of the Middle East to track the patterns of moisture and to give warnings of locust outbreaks; and forest-product companies are finding that satellite images provide a more reliable means of assessing tree-health than ground observation does. Examples proliferate: Brazil, the second largest user of LANDSAT photos after the U.S., now has firm data on the extent of Amazon deforestation, while Pakistan recently used such images to discover a rich lode of copper in a remote region.

Then there's the weather. Within fifteen years, satellite observation should enable

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meteorologists to make five-day forecasts as accurate as their current twenty-four hour projections—which should translate, for U.S. agriculture and aviation alone, into a $5.5 billion saving annually. Finally, for the would-be astronomer in us all, when in 1985 the U.S. shuttle places into orbit a telescope of 2.5 meters diameter with a resolution ten times better than any ground-based device, the observable volume of space will expand by 350 times. Many astronomers expect this will revolutionize their science. The only sad news here—for those desiring a split-level on Mars or wanting to mine the sun or an asteroid—is that for the present time-frame, few experts think space-colonization or majority industry feasible.

So much for the bright prospects of space technology.

The grim side, if a recent (October 3) article in the *New York Times Magazine* by Robert Jastrow is any indication, is that Russian advances in space technology are being used to back up the Reagan administration's rush to fuel the arms race. Russia's arsenal of the first "killer satellite" system (targeted at other low-flying satellites), its development of laser and particle-beam weapons and a new generation of sophisticated reconnaissance and surveillance satellites, has upset the superpower balance, Jastrow argues, and once again we are told we lag behind.

It's true that the advances of technology—on both sides—are about to, or have already, undercut the stability reached through previous arms agreements—most of which hinged on the invulnerability of satellites monitoring compliance. Moreover the Russians have clearly cut into the U.S. advantage, particularly with satellite guidance systems for hard-silo bombing. On the whole, however, Jastrow's fear-mongering is disingenuous. True, the Russians spend twice as much as the U.S. currently does on space, send double the number of missions, and have greater throw-weight in their launchers. The larger throw-weight reflects not superiority but the reverse, their lag in miniaturization; and in general much of the added expense is compensation for their inferior technological base, in computers, materials, and optics. The number of missions, on the other hand, stems from the shorter life-span of Soviet satellites in comparison to our own. Moreover, as a recent study by Daniel Deudney of the *Worldwatch Institute* shows, the U.S. arms partisans ignore:

- that most U.S. military satellites orbit too high to be reached by the Soviet's killer satellites;
- that the U.S. will soon test its own "direct ascent" killer satellite, a far more sophisticated weapon than the Russians', and far more destabilizing;
- that the U.S. satellite system, NAVSTAR, due to be operational by 1988, will enable our submarines to threaten Russia's hard-silo land-based ICBMs;
- that another new U.S. system in planning, IONDS, ought to increase the effectiveness (read accuracy) of our ICBMs by as much as forty percent;
- that laser and particle-ray weapons suffer from the same disabilities that led the U.S. and the USSR to abandon anti-ballistic missiles a decade ago. Outrageously expensive, the highly sensitive radars that track and guide satellite ray-guns are easily blinded—for instance by a single nuclear explosion in space or the upper atmosphere—making for a command and control nightmare. Further, such weapons may be countered by decoys or a little cleverness in the finishing or performance of warheads.

In short, the new generation of space technology holds as much peril as promise. Militarily, it offers little to deter, much to encourage a traditionally paranoid Kremlin to believe a surprise attack might work, and much in the offing to make the Russians, despite any momentary lead they may now have, feel insecure for the future. Hence the U.S. negotiators at the Geneva START talks have every reason to expect the Russians are as eager as we ought to be to resume negotiations for an arms accord on anti-satellite weapons—suspended after the invasion of Afghanistan. The parable for space technology may have been set by that first star-gazer, Thales: for a while it may get you a corner on something like the olive trade, but it tends to make you forget what's on the ground—the fall into the well from which there may be no returning.

Mexico's economy

COWBOYS' LAST HURRAH

LABOR UNIONS & MEXICAN STABILITY

Mexico City

NEITHER MEXICO'S peripatetic finance minister Jesús Silva Herzog nor president-elect Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado, who assumes office on December 1, may play the leading part in determining the success of an austerity program essential to rescuing this country's ailing economy. Instead, that role may fall to Fidel Velázquez, a powerfully built, cigar-smoking curmudgeon who has headed the Mexican Workers Federation (CTM) for half of his eighty-two years.

In theory, Mexico's ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), which has dominated every presidential, gubernatorial, and congressional election since its founding in 1929, enjoys a broad base of support. It embraces peasants, students, small businessmen, professionals, government employees, and blue-collar workers.

In practice, its backing is more limited. For instance, PRI officials in Mexico City and state governors cynically manipulate the *campesinos*, who boast the PRI's largest membership on paper, but have few genuine leaders. In contrast, the well-educated middle sector produces scores of leaders; yet members of this class are increasingly alienated by two devaluations since February and an inflation rate that will surpass 100 percent this year.

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TELL ME--IS HE PLANNING TO JOIN THE PRIESTHOOD? WE COULD USE HIS SKILLS IN THE CHURCH!
KAROL WOJTYLA?! HEAVENS,NO! HE SAYS HE'S GOING TO BE AN... AN ACTOR!

CAPTAIN WOJTYLA!

IT'S A BIRD, it's a plane, it's . . . Superpope! The people who brought you Spiderman and the Incredible Hulk are now bringing you John Paul II. "Discover the exciting, adventure-packed, inspirational life of *John Paul II* — spiritual leader, world traveler, peacemaker, champion of justice, equal rights, and freedom." So urges Paulist Press, which is distributing the newest Marvel comic book to religious bookstores, schools, and churches.

Will the sixty-four page "Life of Pope John Paul II" meet with approval from comic-book enthusiasts? Alas, there is only one BUDDA, BUDDA, BUDDA! and PAH! PAH! PAH! (a German plane strafing Polish refugees); one BAM, one BOOM! BOOM!, one THOOM! THOOM! (also war scenes); and one WHAM! (when the young Wojtyla is hit by a Nazi-driven truck — "Off the road, pig! — and practically left for dead). Twice the story is punctuated with a NOK! NOK! — which is evidently the way "Knock! Knock!" sounds in Polish. This is quiet stuff for comic-book readers accustomed to a THWACK! Or a RRRRRIPP! or a YIIEEEE! on virtually every page.

Thanks to Father Mieczyslav Malinski, a lifelong friend of the pope and official collaborator on this comic, we are assured that "true insights and facts about Pope John Paul II are told for the first time in this Marvel magazine." Maybe, but what will your basic Captain America fan make of text like "Wawel Castle is where the kings of Poland once lived, a structure comprising the most beautiful of courts and cathedrals. But now, instead of kings, it houses *Dr. Hans Frank*, German governor-general of Poland. Yet still the priests run the cathedral, still the Mass is said . . ."?

The same meticulous concern for detail is apparent in the drawings. Illustrator John Tartaglione has made a brave effort to represent Karol Wojtyla at various stages of his life as well as at recreating the features of his many companions and associates. Of course, connoisseurs of comic-book art may lament the absence of full-panel close-ups of the papal ring finger or of John Paul's eyeballs at the moment he was shot. Where, they will ask, are the "cinematic" frames viewing the action down from, say, the steeple of Cracow's cathedral, or up from the toe of a Swiss Guard? And where is the yellow-tinted page of ads offering plastic tiaras or atomic-powered papal rings with secret decoders? "I was a ninety-pound phenomenologist until I sent for *The Acting Person*."

Poor Marvel Comics! First the attempted assassination meant adding an epilogue, then martial law in Poland hampered communication with Father Malinski. And now their hard work will encounter sophisticates like the self-appointed pseudo-intellectual around here who was heard to mutter, "I think I'll wait for the *Reader's Digest* condensed version." We say, don't nok it.

Shazaam!

The upshot is that the 3.5 million-member CTM is the regime's sturdiest guarantor of stability. Fidel Velázquez and his fellow *charros*—or "cowboys" as labor bosses are called here — muster crowds for campaign rallies, help roll up robust victory margins for approved candidates, and trumpet assent to government policies.

In 1968, a leftist movement sprang to life in major universities with the goal of forging a coalition of students, peasants, and workers. In the face of this escalating threat to the system, Velázquez quickly threw his weight behind President Gustavo Díaz Ordaz, thereby nipping in the bud any student-worker alliance.

Such fealty elicits rewards. Approximately one-third of the nation's senators and directly-elected congressmen emerge from organized labor, as do a number of state governors. Their high wages and attractive fringe benefits make members of CTM-affiliates a labor elite with rising middle-class aspirations in a nation where four out of ten people live as ragpickers at the base of an increasingly squat social pyramid. Although Communists have condemned the Confederation for "selling their souls" to the government and private enterprise, Mexico's political powers-that-be have prevented the left's posing a serious challenge to their ally. In 1959, the government sentenced two key Communist union leaders, Valentín Campa Salazar and Demetrio Vallejo, to eleven-year prison terms.

Fidel Velázquez not only influences the selection of many ranking officials, who obsequiously solicit his approval before announcing for higher office, but his imprimatur is sought on policy decisions. For example, in November 1979 President José López Portillo scuttled an increase in gasoline prices needed for revenue and conservation purposes when the octogenarian ex-dairy worker turned thumbs down on the move.

Earlier this year, the CTM chieftain helped vitiate the

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stimulative effects of a February 27 peso devaluation by demanding — and getting — salary increases of up to thirty percent on top of the thirty-four percent rise in the minimum wage granted at the beginning of the year. This move undermined confidence in the government's anti-inflation campaign hastened capital flight.

Nonetheless, since Mexico's economic crisis captured the spotlight last month, Velázquez, who prefers conciliation to threats, has proved a paragon of moderation. This "is not a good time for a confrontation between management and labor," he said. "The situation is difficult, but this is not to say that the working class wants to aggravate the crisis. We are not thinking about adopting measures that could be considered absurd."

National affairs

ALIVE & KICKING

THE SOCIAL ISSUES ARE NOT DEAD

WHEN PRESIDENT REAGAN'S aides announced last month that the administration would de-emphasize the social issues, many opponents of the New Right gleefully declared victory. The feeling of victory was reinforced by the setbacks the New Right suffered in Congress on the school prayer and abortion issues. And the very group that gave the New Right so much hope — working-class voters who defected to Ronald Reagan in 1980 — seemed to be returning to the Democratic fold, driven by anger and frustration over the state of the economy.

Are the social issues dead? Don't count on it. They are likely to stay alive for a very long time, not only because the New Right wants them to, but because many liberals, feminists, and libertarians see *their* social agenda as still unmet. These issues will not go away because they involve a thoroughgoing debate on what the country's public values should be, what role the state should play in fostering them, and the extent to which the disorders that now plague the lives of individuals and families can be remedied by the return to older values, or the acceptance of new ones.

Just what has happened recently on the social issues? In Congress, Senator Jesse Helms was turned back in his efforts to pass laws restricting abortion and limiting the ability of courts to intervene in cases involving prayers in public schools. What is significant is that the defeat of the New Right came not in the Democratic House, but in the Republican Senate. The striking number of Republicans who joined Democrats to defeat Senator Helms suggests that the New Right's greatest strength may also prove to be a fatal weakness. The essence of the New Right strategy involves linking socially conservative working-class voters to well-to-do and normally Republican voters. The working-class voters do not share conservatives' faith in unfettered markets and have thus gravitated toward the Democrats in the past. The New Right thinks social issues can draw many working-class voters in their direction.

But what this strategy leaves out is that many well-to-do voters who like low taxes and free markets just fine are not wild about making abortion illegal, keeping women in the home, or having children pray in school (unless, perhaps, the prayers are said for low taxes). When the strategy works, the well-to-do are supposed to ignore the social issues and vote Republican to protect their economic interests; and the poorer folks are supposed to ignore their economic interests and vote Republican to protect their values. But that strategy is now in trouble, since the recession is making economic issues paramount for the less well-off voters. And even in 1980, many well-to-do women voted for their gender and not their class and gave a majority of their ballots to Jimmy Carter or John Anderson. No wonder many Republicans are having second thoughts about the New Right.

As a practical matter, though, the social issues will not go away because so many people have organized around them — on both sides. Nowhere have direct mail specialists on the right *and* the left found such success in raising money as on the social issues. That makes sense, since direct mail traffics in emotion. The social issues go to the heart of some of the deepest human feelings. Women who want the right to decide for themselves whether they will have an abortion or not will bitterly and actively oppose anyone who will take that right away. For pro-lifers, the issue is about murder. Try to persuade people that they should back away from these positions because they're "divisive." Or try to persuade a gay person that gay rights are not important; or a parent that child pornography is not something politicians are supposed to worry about. It can't be done.

What is important to remember — and liberals seem loath to remember this — is that most of these questions were first raised *from the left*. We are arguing about equal rights for women because women, supported by liberals, demanded them. We are arguing about gay rights because gays, supported by a handful of brave liberals, decided they could no longer face intimidation. Abortion was illegal until states, and then the Supreme Court, acted. Many social conservatives argue, with some legitimacy, that they are simply fighting back. "I didn't ask for this fight," a very liberal right-to-life Democrat from Missouri said in 1980. That Democrat supported Ronald Reagan because of his stand on abortion, but didn't much like doing so.

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Yet a number of factors militate against his readily marshaling rank-and-file support for a stabilization scheme that will, by necessity, entail reduced government spending, curbs on wage hikes, and diminished subsidies in this ancient Aztec capital where bus fares are three cents and subway rides cost a penny — or five times the charge for a pay phone call.

To begin with, Fidel Velázquez and his cohorts are two generations older than their member whose economic distress they have difficulty comprehending. Two-thirds of Mexicans are under twenty-five years of age, while the most powerful CTM leaders are, at least, in their early seventies. "The Confederation's executive committee is the best example of a gerontocracy — with the possible exception of Australian aborigines," observed one local journalist. Foreigners

In many ways, the New Right understood the implications of the social issues better than most of the center and many liberals. "The right understood that the notion of extending personal freedom to women — half our society — is truly revolutionary," wrote Jane O'Reilly, the perceptive and witty feminist writer. "The right took feminism seriously (as the tepid majority did not) and used those issues that are most obviously women's — the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion — to organize itself into a 'new' right."

What the New Right also took seriously is a notion that liberals had been peddling for years: that the state, by acting *or* not acting, fosters particular moral systems. By refusing tax benefits to schools that segregate, the state is quite consciously (and rightly) making a moral choice that segregation is wrong. By enshrining gay rights into law, the state is making a positive declaration that a person's sexual orientation is his or her business, and that the society recognizes that choice as one that someone has a right to make. In California two years ago, the right tried the exact opposite tactic by putting to referendum a proposal to bar homosexuals from teaching jobs. That proposition went down, partly because our country remains an extraordinarily tolerant place, and partly because many voters wanted the government to stay out of the issue entirely.

There is no doubt that the right can be wildly inconsistent. (Congressman Barney Frank likes to say that the right believes that life begins at conception and ends at birth.) But it has forced many on the left to do some serious thinking about just what it is they're fighting for when it comes to social questions. Christopher Lasch has been a leading voice arguing that the left has "turned its back on its proper constituency — the people who cling to family life, religion, the work ethic, and other ostensibly outmoded values as the only source of stability in an otherwise precarious existence." Lasch says that in doing so, the left "has repeatedly forced the legitimate need for authority, stability, and continuity to find reactionary political outlets."

Others, such as Michael Lerner and Laurie Zoloth, who founded Friends of Families, have argued that family breakdown "is an outgrowth of the way the economy and the workplace are organized." Lerner, Zoloth, and their allies contend that stress in the workplace is "brought home, manifesting itself in tensions and irritations that grow out of hand." The thrust of their analysis is toward such proposals as more flexible work time and paid maternity leave.

There is much truth to what Lerner, Zoloth, and Lasch say, and their contributions are especially welcome at a time when much of the liberal response to the New Right amounts to name-calling. Helping make families stronger has always been a cause of the left, which has traditionally pointed to the devastating impact of poverty on the ability of men and women to live together and raise children in peace. And the statistics on the fate of single-parent (usually single-mother) families are simply too devastating to ignore. The statistics alone suggest that encouraging old-fashioned father-mother-children families is in the public interest.

But the issues are more complicated than that. The fact is that something new is happening, and much of the change is for the good. "Traditional families" sound like wonderful things, but do we really want to roll back the equality that women have won? I don't think so. Is it not a good thing that homosexuals can live free from fear and humiliation? The national gay rights political action committee held a fundraiser and surprised everyone by having Walter Mondale as the main speaker. But what impressed me was the presence on the platform of Meade Esposito, the leader of the Brooklyn Democratic organization and a man for whom the words "gruff" and "crusty" were invented. Esposito said he supported gay rights because "I don't like people who pick on people." There's a truth there.

The point is that the social issues will stay with us for some time because we as a nation have not yet sorted out just what it is we are looking for. The polls suggest that most Americans think equality for women is a good thing, but that most also still hold to an updated version of the old family ideal. The divorce rate may be high, but people still keep trying to create families. A great many Americans are uncomfortable with homosexuality, but they probably agree with Meade Esposito. What we have to accept is that new demands for greater freedom and equality are always disruptive to the "authority, stability, and continuity" that Lasch talks about. The right almost always favors these three values above everything else. The left always insists that the new demands can be met and that stability can eventually be restored. Its task now, as always, is to show us how.

(E.J. Dionne, Jr., writes regularly on politics for Commonweal.*)*

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often compare the group to the Soviet Politburo or the Cook County Democratic Committee.

Their lifestyles also separate and alienate the *charros* from their membership. While Velázquez lives modestly compared to his colleagues, many CTM bigshots pursue sybaritic pleasures that include palatial homes, weekend jet trips to Paris, and bulging U.S. bank accounts.

Such extravagances are funded not by union salaries, but by corrupt practices that include: (1) payoffs to avoid strikes by firms that employ unions, (2) bribes by business to prevent unionization, (3) the creation of their own construction companies by labor bosses who then pocket the money saved by using inferior materials in completing contracts with the government and private firms, and (4) selling jobs in an economy where the closed shop assures labor leaders a monopoly on hiring.

The most egregious example of job selling exists in PEMEX, the booming state oil monopoly, where petroleum engineers pay up to $40,000 for a lifetime position, while secretaries secure ninety-day assignments by bestowing sexual favors on the presidents of locals.

Attempts to reform the unions from within are met with cooptation, bribery, blackmail, and physical coercion — often aided and abetted by the government itself.

Besides undermining the legitimacy of the *charros*, the ubiquitous corruption has fertilized the growth of independent unions. This movement is centered in sectors where the workers and their spokesmen are comparatively young, well educated, and organizationally adept; notably, the universities and the nuclear, telephone, and electrical industries.

Although relatively unknown and powerless now, someone like Antonio Gershenson, head of the nuclear workers (SUTIN), might prove an appealing leader should joblessness mushroom and inflation zoom out of control. This possibility was confirmed by the *Latin American Weekly Report*, a respected British publication, which noted earlier this year that: "The emergence of a mass movement for independent unions in key sectors of industry would pose as serious a threat to the Mexican political model as did 'Lula' and the workers of the São Paulo suburbs in Brazil." Of course, the success of such an effort would be hampered by the greater dispersion of strategic industries here compared to Brazil.

If Jimmy the Greek were Mexican, he would bet on Velázquez's keeping the lid on labor one more time. After all, the old man has an important stake in preserving a system that has made him second in power only to the president.

But even if Don Fidel succeeds, de la Madrid as chief executive should summon his enormous powers to retire labor's geriatric leadership, launch a promised no-holds-barred fight against union peculation, appoint a tough labor minister who is committed to union democracy, and open up the CTM by enforcing secret ballots in fair elections for leaders with limited terms of office. By doing this, the next president may convert the Confederation from an eroding pillar of support to one of concrete, worthy of upholding a party that declaims its unswerving commitment to Mexico's working class.

GEORGE W. GRAYSON

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Of several minds: *Abigail McCarthy*

TASK FOR A TEACHER

THE PEOPLE WON'T BE LED BY FIAT

"As American Catholics living in the Washington area we need to consider the arms race and nuclear weapons in light of faith . . . I ask you to reflect on what legitimate defense and national security mean in a nuclear age . . ."

Archbishop James A. Hickey
A Call to Peacemaking

WASHINGTON Catholics had come to the convocation in unprecedented numbers, and the "Special Forum — Offered Once" had attracted many of them. It was held in the typical hall of many uses, the auditorium-cum-gymnasium of a girls' Catholic high school. On the sketchy stage two young men sat surveying the audience crowded together on folding chairs and overflowing into the side aisles, doorways, and stairwells. Their subject was the nuclear freeze, pro and con.

The speakers were superficially alike: both young and handsome, both well-dressed (one perhaps more tailored than the other), both young men of achievement in their own terms. And both, we learned soon, Catholic.

The differences began right there. There were subtle differences in the backgrounds with which they claimed kinship with their listeners. First there was Congressman Edward J. Markey, Democrat of the 7th District of Massachusetts, cheerfully listing the credentials which must often have won acceptance from similar groups — Malden Catholic, Boston College, Boston College Law School. And then there was the administration spokesman, Joseph Lehman, Public Affairs Advisor to the arms control agency — brother to the Secretary of the Navy, cousin to the Kellys — offering his years with the Sisters of St. Joseph, deprecating his temporary defection to an institution of "secular humanism," and affirming his "return to the fold" at Georgetown University. Both men, then, of Catholic education and on opposing sides of the issue.

Congressman Markey is the author of the nuclear freeze proposal in the House

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of Representatives. Mr. Lehman is an enthusiastic defender of the Defense Department's "defense modernization program." Their approaches to their subject bore out John Cogley's contention of old — that there is just no explaining it, people seem to be born liberal or conservative.

Congressman Markey was fresh from the hustings of Massachusetts. His arguments and one-liners had been used before with success and were equally successful with the already convinced supporters of the freeze in the audience. His style was disarming, cool, with the occasional passion and hard edge of the Boston area politico in the Kennedy mold. He defended the nuclear freeze with practiced ease. It was not unilateral. It was a call for negotiation. It was not impractical. Asymmetries in arms do exist, but the potential for overkill on either side makes the discrepancies meaningless. The "*Reagan* plan" — no polite dissimulation, the responsibility kept pinned to the president — would obligate us to huge expenditures for more first-strike weapons, surely threatening behavior and bound to be so perceived by the Soviets. The rapid spread of the nuclear freeze proposal — the approval by city councils, town meetings, legislatures, one hundred and thirty-five bishops and the loss of approval by only one vote in the House of Representatives — that, and that more than anything, had brought the president to the bargaining table.

Mr. Lehman in response was a bit lofty. He would avoid the rhetoric, he said, and attempt to subject the question to real analysis. His demeanor, as befit a young conservative, was a cross between the unsmiling, unrelenting seriousness of a George Will, and the supercilious assurance of a William Buckley. He summarized the history of the nuclear age. The obligations of the present administration, like that of all recent administrations, he instructed the audience, was to defend the security of the United States and to prevent war by designing forces which are a real deterrent. Far from being driven to negotiation, the president, he claimed, had from the beginning of his term given clear directives to his arms control agency and energized the thinking about these complexities. The current proposals were based on reality — the balance of terror with which we must live. Past negotiations, including SALT, had all been failures. His avoidance of rhetoric slipped a bit along the way and he ended up calling the nuclear freeze proposal the "laetrile" of the effort to cure the cancer of the nuclear threat. The Democrats came up with such "snake oil" cures, he asserted, out of ignorance and desperation.

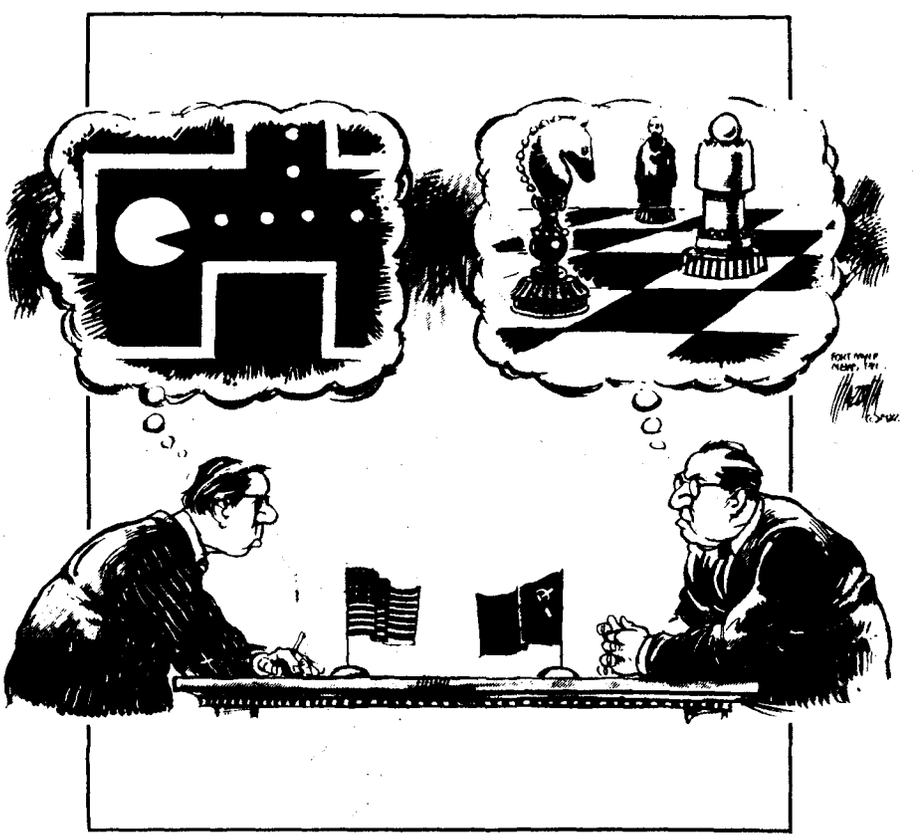
If nothing else the exchange made clear the fundamental wisdom of Archbishop Hickey's approach to the bishop's obligation to teach his flock and to lead them in their confrontation with moral issues and conscience. The people are not going to be led by *fiat* on the issue of peace, no matter how well-framed, no matter how definitive the letter of the American bishops, which is now under reconsideration, finally turns out to be.

The people are divided still. They are the unthinking, they are the concerned. They are the liberals, they are the conservatives. They will have to be carefully and effectively led out of frozen stances into giving, as Archbishop Hickey has asked all his people to do, "careful attention to the arms race, nuclear war, and disarmament."

Each of us, he said in his call, must be peacemakers. "This is not an optional commitment." His convocation was called to inform, educate, and stimulate discussion among parish leaders, educators, catechists, and interested Catholics on the moral dimensions of nuclear weapons and the arms race. It was also designed to prepare parish leaders to help convene and conduct parish discussions on these issues, and to assist educators and catechists to deal with the issues in classrooms and religious education programs.

People so taught will ask the right questions of their leaders and demand the right reasons for decisions. Above all, people so taught may take hope that they can do something about the most crucial of questions — the survival of the planet and the human race. They need not lapse into apathy and despair. But it is a task for teachers, all the teachers of the church and the world.

ABIGAIL McCARTHY



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Framework for a Mideast future

J. Bryan Hehir

THE CAREENING COURSE of events in the Middle Eat during the summer of 1982 has left most observers with a sense of exhaustion. The preeminent need of the moment is a framework to analyze the impact of the last three months and to set the direction for the future. Those in search of a framework will find a substantial resource in the fall issue of *Foreign Affairs*. Two articles, one by Ghassan Tueni, the other by Harold Saunders, provide distinct but complementary perspectives on the present moment in the Middle East. Both of these authors bring an uncommon combination of intelligence, civility,and moral sensitivity to diplomacy.

Three themes deserve comment in light of the Tueni-Saunders articles: the primacy of Lebanon; the potential of the present moment in the Middle East; and the religious factor in the political equation.

The primacy of Lebanon: this is a central concern of Ghassan Tueni. Having represented his country at the United Nations with eloquence, wisdom, and dignity throughout the excruciatingly difficult period since 1978, he has earned the right to press Lebanon's claims. Tueni's point, however, is not only that Lebanon deserves priority treatment because of what the Lebanese have suffered. He is equally convinced that failure to address "The Lebanon Question" as the first item on the Mideast agenda will doom all other attempts at regional or geopolitical solutions in that part of the world. In his words: "Ten years of war and a century or two of struggle to establish Lebanon in its present form have proven how impossible it is to create an equilibrium in the Middle East — a balance of power, of wealth and of culture — without a peaceful Lebanon."

The primacy of Lebanon means three things. First, the need for a massive reconstruction effort is evident to all; second, the need for rapid and total withdrawal of the Syrians and the Israelis from Lebanon. Both Tueni and Saunders are adamant in their conviction that withdrawal of foreign forces is a precondition to serious progress within Lebanon. For Tueni, Lebanon's greatest danger lies not within the country, but in the possibility that Syrian and Israeli objectives consist in a "symmetrical occupation" of Lebanon rather than in symmetrical withdrawal. Third,

the significance of outside forces does not dissolve the ultimate challenge for the Lebanese: reconstruction of the social compact in Lebanon along democratic-pluralistic lines. As Tueni puts it: "There can be no return to the past, nor should there be." The need is literally for social reconstruction.

Lebanon and the Middle East: Lebanon is part of the larger canvas. This broader picture is the predominant concern of Hal Saunders, an analyst unrivaled in Washington for his knowledge of and experience in Mideast policy. For Saunders, the summer of 1982 marked a decisive turning point for all the actors in the Middle East. The present moment contains both danger and potential. The critical factor will be the quality of political vision and courage available.

In Saunders's view all the major actors face choices. While the Camp David accords provide a viable framework for the diplomatic initiatives which are needed, it is the Israeli-Palestinian dimension of the problem which must be given principal attention now. Saunders highlights the challenge: "In short, after several years of detailed Egyptian-Israeli negotiation, we are now back near the beginning of an Israeli-Palestinian peace process, in a pre-negotiation phase dealing with attitudes which block negotiation."

Changing attitudes is not a purely psychological question; it must yield new political consequences. For the Arab states and the Palestinians, the Gordian knot of diplomatic recognition of Israel must be cut. They have yet to say convincingly that they are prepared for peace with Israel if Israel will make peace with them. The Israelis, who sought to destroy the PLO politically and militarily, have not succeeded. The Palestinian cause is still a central fact in the Middle East; the Israelis need to come to grips with the fact, including its implications for future negotiations. The United States faces pivotal choices in its relations with Israel, the Arab states, and the Palestinians. The U.S. strategy must be "comprehensive," requiring new clarity about U.S.-Israeli relations and a clear statement of where the U.S. stands on the Palestinian question. President Reagan's speech last month was a first step.

The religious factor permeates both "The Lebanon Question" and the Middle East. Tueni is correct in saying that the war in Lebanon was misdefined as a religious war; but the religious factor is part of the future challenge in Lebanon. Israel was rightly criticized after the Beirut massacre, but Christian forces did the killing. In the United States the necessary debate which we face on U.S.-Israeli relations will not be a purely political debate. Religious ties have been strained more than once this summer. The need to talk frankly and fraternally as religious communities about the Middle East has never been greater. We should rise to this challenge. J. BRYAN HEHIR

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The creationism controversy: the social stakes

FRANCIS J. FLAHERTY

TO THE RELIEF and acclaim of liberals, a federal judge in Little Rock struck down Arkansas's "creation science" law in the first week of 1982. Like the Scopes trial in Tennessee fifty years ago, this case was cast as both high drama and low comedy. At stake, the participants urged, were such weighty principles as academic freedom, the separatin of church and state, and Arkansas's right to teach its children as it saw fit. Bruce Ennis, who helped conduct the case for the American Civil Liberties Union, called the controversy "one of the most important First Amendment cases to be held."

But outside the courtroom the case gave the giggles to much of the country: led by slick electronic churchmen, the benighted yahoos of Arkansas seemed to be trying — and not for the first time — to secede from the twentieth century. "The prevailing theme" of newspaper editorials on the subject, wrote Gene Lyons in *Harper's*, "was that the thoughtless bozos of the legislature had again made Arkansas a national joke."

But the case, *McLean v. Arkansas Board of Education*, was neither farce nor drama. It did not sink to farce because the creationists had more compelling arguments than most observers realized, and it did not rise to drama because, although great principles were at stake, they were couched in poorly phrased questions which, predictably, received only inconsequential answers. To be sure, *McLean* was not a trivial decision, especially for those properly worried about the attempts of the Moral Majority to bulldoze the wall separating church and state. But it is for the issues raised but not resolved that *McLean* will be remembered.

THE FIRST AMENDMENT, as applied to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment, commands that the states "shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The first clause — known as the Establishment Clause — is an example of a "means" provision: not an end in itself, it is a rule meant to protect some other constitutionally recognized good. The protected good in this case is the second, or Free Exercise, clause, which secures for Americans the right to pursue their spiritual inclinations without governmental interference. The goal, then, is religious liberty for all Americans, and the Free Exercise Clause directly provides that right. But the Constitution's framers—for famous historical reasons—knew that a good, second way to secure that liberty was to prohibit any governmental favoritism toward religion. They realized that an alliance between a church and the state would be dangerously fertile soil for the oppression of other, unallied faiths. It is on this premise that the Establishment Clause is based.

Any law which appears to aid a religion raises questions under the Establishment Clause. State aid to parochial schools and religious exercises in public schools are two examples. In their fastidious way, the courts have created a three-part test to determine if a particular governmental activity transgresses that clause. First, they ask if the activity has a primarily religious *purpose*. Bible reading in public schools, for example, clearly has a religious aim, while a good case can be made that state aid to parochial schools has primarily an educational purpose.

The second question is the "effects" test. Does the law or activity have as its main effect the advancement of religion? Laws requiring stores to be closed on Sunday, for example, only indirectly aid religion, while state-sponsored school prayer primarily promotes religion.

The third question is the practical one of "entanglement." Regardless of the purpose and effect of the activity, are its mechanisms such that the state will become embroiled with religious groups and issues? Under a program of state textbook aid to parochial schools, for example, will the government be called upon to screen schoolbooks to decide if they are secular enough to be subsidized by the state? Will a conscientious-objector law involve the state too deeply in assessing the sincerity or value of a draftee's spiritual beliefs? A "yes"

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answer to any of these three questions renders the law violative of the Establishment Clause.

The *McLean* case was simply a straightforward application of this tripartite test. But before applying that test federal judge William R. Overton first had to decide whether "creation science" was a bona fide science or merely religion parading as such.

ACT 590, the law challenged in *McLean*, required public school teachers in Arkansas to give a "balanced treatment" of creation science and evolution. Creation science, according to its espousers, holds that the world and its species began in an unspecified cataclysm between 6,000 and 20,000 years ago, and that the many species on earth did not evolve from a single primitive life-form but rather arose separately. The best way to define creation science is the best evidence that it is not a science at all: it is an amalgam of assertions whose only common denominator is their consistency with a literal interpretation of the *Genesis* story of creation. True science asks: "What theory of origins best accords with the facts?" Creation science, in effect, asks: "What theory of origins best accords with *Genesis?*" One needn't be a scientist to realize the unneutrality of the latter approach.

After an exhaustive review of the traits of true science — experimentation, trial and error, revision of hypotheses to accord with new facts — and the uniform absence of those characteristics in creation science, Judge Overton held that however you gussy it up, creation science is no science: "While anybody is free to approach a scientific inquiry in any fashion he chooses, he cannot properly describe the methodology used as scientific if he starts with a conclusion and refuses to change it, regardless of the evidence developed during the course of the investigation."

The unscientific nature of creation science, coupled with the remarkable coincidences between the tenets of creation science and *Genesis*, led Overton to judiciously note "the pervasive nature of religious concepts" in Act 590. In short, creation science is a sham, a sophomoric attempt to sneak a religious doctrine into the public schools. As such, it no more belongs in biology class than does the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Once Overton declared creation science a religion, Act 590 didn't have a prayer. Overton applied the three-part Establishment Clause test and flunked the law on all counts. As to the purpose of the law, Overton found "no evidence" that lobbyists for the bill "were motivated by anything other than their religious convictions." After scrutinizing creationist writings and the statements of both Paul Ellwanger, a South Carolina respiratory therapist who authored the bill, and James L. Holsted, the state senator who introduced it, Overton judged that Act 590 "was simply and purely an effort to introduce the biblical version of creation into the public school curricula."

Did the law have the primary effect of advancing religion? Because "both the concepts and wording" of the Act "convey an inescapable religiosity," Overton easily found a primarily sectarian effect: "The facts that creation science is inspired by the Book of Genesis" and that the Act "is consistent with a literal interpretation of Genesis leaves no doubt that a major effect of the Act is the advancement of particular religious beliefs."

Though hardly necessary to reach his decision, Overton also analyzed the "entanglement" issue, the third factor courts consider when confronted with Establishment Clause questions. "State entanglement with religion is inevitable under Act 590," Overton declared. "Involvement of the State in screening texts for impermissible religious references will require State officials to make delicate religious judgments. The need to monitor classroom discussion in order to uphold the Act's prohibition against religious instruction will necessarily involve administrators in questions concerning religion." Three strikes and you're out.

On its own terms, *McLean* was an important case. It prevented an intellectual fraud from being perpetrated in our science classrooms. It preserved the integrity of the Establishment Clause at a time when seventeen states are considering legislation similar to Act 590 and Louisiana has already passed such a law. And it was a timely victory for liberals concerned by the aggrandizing spirituality of the Moral Majority.

BUT, ALL in all, *McLean* raises more questions than it answers. And those questions cluster around the Free Exercise Clause, which enshrines that goal of religious liberty for which the Establishment Clause is merely a means.

The impulse which gave rise to Act 590 is the strong belief of Fundamentalists — who number in the millions — that the exclusive teaching of evolution in public schools undermines the faith of their children. Obviously, evolution does not necessarily entail atheism: an inventive God could easily have set in motion the mechanism of natural selection, and evolution says nothing about how the primeval muck from which life began was itself created. But evolution very much undermines Fundamentalism, because followers of that faith subscribe to the *literal* meaning of *Genesis*. One simply cannot simultaneously believe that all creatures evolved from a single life-source over the course of hundreds of millions of years and, also, that God created the stars and the earth and all living things in the space of seven days. Although it is certainly true that Fundamentalists have unjustly and illogically made Charles Darwin a scapegoat for all they perceive as wrong with the morally relativistic modern world, it is no less true that the Fundamentalist doctrine of creation is bluntly contradicted by Darwinism.

And so it is no surprise that Fundamentalists are angry at this loss of control over the education of their young. Unless wealthy enough to afford private tuition, these parents are required by compulsory education laws to send their children to public schools to learn doctrines detrimental to their faith. "As a parent," one Arkansas woman was reported as saying, "why do I have to take evolution as a fact, and . . . every day

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fight that system with my child?"

It is a good question, one which deserves a more temperate response than the media have given it. Act 590, the *New York Times* editorialized, was the work of an "intolerant, moralistic minority," a scheme of "religious zealots." I think these characterizations are unfair. Fundamentalists may very well be benighted and befuddled, but their motive in passing Act 590 was not, *vide* the *New York Times*, intolerance. Act 590 was a defensive maneuver; it was an attempt, albeit misconceived, to preserve the Fundamentalists' right freely to exercise their faith.

WHETHER OR NOT the setting of the case is a school, the courts have been sensitive to free-exercise claims. In 1963, for example, the South Carolina Employment Security Commission had what it thought was a good and sensible rule: South Carolinians who refused jobs requiring that they work on Saturdays would be denied unemployment benefits. The clear aim of the law was to bar from the public dole persons who were too picky in accepting jobs. But one woman, a Seventh-day Adventist whose faith required her to refrain from Saturday work, took issue with the rule and, in *Sherbert v. Verner*, the Supreme Court agreed.

Because public education is coerced, because that coercion is exercised by the state, the courts give especially sharp scrutiny to free-exercise claims which arise in the public schools. In 1943, for example, a group of Jehovah's Witnesses objected to West Virginia's requirement that they salute the flag each morning. Such a practice, the plaintiffs said, "was forbidden by command of Scripture" — or at least by their reading of it. Finding that no person can be compelled to make declarations against his beliefs, the Supreme Court struck down the regulation. And in 1972, in one of its strongest statements about the right of religious liberty in a school, the Court upheld the right of an Amish couple in Wisconsin to withdraw their fourteen- and fifteen-year-old children from public school in spite of that state's education law, which compelled school attendance through age sixteen. "Formal high school education," wrote Chief Justice Warren Burger," . . . is contrary to Amish beliefs, not only because it places Amish children in an environment hostile to Amish beliefs with increasing emphasis on competition, . . . but also because it takes them away from their community, physically and emotionally, during the crucial and formative adolescent period of life."

Like this Amish couple in Wisconsin, the Fundamentalists in Arkansas are simply claiming the right not to have their children standardized by the state. The Fundamentalists' claim that the exclusive teaching of the evolutionary theory of origins weakens their children's faith seems as compelling as the claim of the Amish couple. This is a formidable constitutional problem, according to Wendell Bird, an attorney for the Institute for Creation Research and a principal legal advisor on Act 590. Writing in the *Yale Law Journal* in 1978, Bird judged that "the potential impact on free exercise from exclusive public school presentation of the general theory [of evolution] would appear to be very widespread and substantial. More than fourteen million individuals in the nation are adherents of religions that explicitly teach special creation. . . ."

Where Mr. Bird went astray was in his choice of remedy for the "widespread and substantial" problem he perceived. His suggestion — incorporated into Act 590 — was that states should "neutralize" Darwinism by also requiring public schools to teach creation science. But Bird incorrectly believed that creation science was a bona fide science rather than a disguised religious doctrine. When Judge Overton declared creation science to be the latter, he properly held that — even when given a scientific gloss — religious instruction in public schools violates the Establishment clause.

BUT SURELY there must be some way to accommodate the Fundamentalists. If the Supreme Court can find a way to protect the Amish, do the Fundamentalists deserve any less? You may find the Amish to be a very attractive sect, and you may judge Fundamentalism to be a bunch of hogwash; but the point of the Religion Clauses is that such assessments are not constitutionally cognizable. Religious liberty, if it means anything, means the right to be stupid as well as inspired in matters of the spirit. Moreover, prudence requires that people of all faiths empathize with the Fundamentalist predicament. There but for the grace of God go we: many faiths may plausibly be undermined by parts of public school curricula. Some Catholics, for example, may frown upon sex-education courses which, by instructing students in the various means of birth control, give those methods implicit approval.

A better solution to the Fundamentalists' dilemma is elective exemption, by which parents who object to the instruction of their children in Darwinism can have their children excused from classes in which that theory is taught. There is a precedent: the Texas Education Code (and those of several other states) provides that "although physiology and hygiene must be taught in all public schools, any child may be exempted, without penalty, from receiving instruction therein" if such instruction would "conflict with the religious teachings" of the church to which the family belongs.

Unlike the teaching of creation science under Act 590, elective exemption from evolution classes will not foist a religious doctrine upon students who are not Fundamentalists. And students who do not object to evolution can remain in class unhampered, while the educational disadvantage of not

Commemorative stamp issued by the U.S. Postal Service to honor the 800th anniversary of the birth of St. Francis of Assisi.

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learning about Darwin will be limited to those Fundamentalists who voluntarily elect exemption.

There are several problems with elective exemption. As a central organizing principle of modern science and history, Darwinism informs many school subjects. Because educators cannot practically give advance notice of every mention of evolution, perhaps the option of exemption should be limited to the core presentation of Darwin's theory. A second problem is the relationship between parents and children: Should parents, for example, be permitted to force exemption upon an unwilling child? But perhaps the largest problem is that elective exemption retards the important goal of imparting scientific knowledge to our youth. Is assuring the peace of mind of Fundamentalists worth this loss? It may not be, especially when one considers how intangible and suppositious the Fundamentalists' claim is. The Free Exercise Clause usually protects people only from concrete interference with their faiths; the Seventh-day Adventist from South Carolina, for example, lost her money — her unemployment check — because of the conflict between her religion and state law. Insuring peace of mind by suppressing science seems comparatively less compelling. And it seems more dangerous to the state's educational goals. What if people claim that instruction in astronomy or history violates their religious rights? Will we become a nation of spiritually secure ignoramuses?

These are all tough questions upon which reasonable people can differ. Perhaps Fundamentalists should "neutralize" the teaching of evolution in their own Bible classes and from their own pulpits, rather than require the state to give special treatment to their children. I offer elective exemption only as a suggestion; its value lies, above all, in its recognition that the issue in *McLean*, the impulse behind Act 590, was something more than a sophistic attempt to tiptoe around the Establishment Clause.

AS IF THE complexity of the Fundamentalists' religious claims were not enough, *McLean* raises a host of equally perplexing issues having nothing to do with religion. Whether based on the right of free speech or the right of association or some other liberty, these issues all loudly demand a reconciliation between compulsory public education and the cherished American freedom to be different.

To commemorate the centenary of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, the University of Chicago Law School in 1960 published a trio of articles on the Scopes trial. The authors agreed on only one thing: the large legal issues posed by *Scopes* remain unresolved. "How much controversy do we desire in our educational scheme?" wrote Chicago law professor Harry Kalven. "How much should the schoolroom be a miniature marketplace of ideas with the students free to choose? To what extent, that is, should the conditions of free debate which we regard as indispensable to the health of the public forum be carried over into the school?"

For civil libertarians, these are pressing questions because, of all state activities, the American system of compulsory public education presents unique dangers to individual rights. As educator, the state compels attendance and exercises a practical monopoly on pre-college schools. And unlike its other activities, the state through its schools "is not merely regulating the free play of private . . . communication," claim law professors Thomas Emerson and David Haber; rather, "the government itself determines what the content of the communication shall be." One needn't be enrolled in a practicum in totalitarianism to realize the opportunities this closed system provides for state indoctrination — as opposed to education — of our youth. Although a free and public education may be a bulwark of democracy and a ladder of social mobility (though there are those who disagree: see the writings of John Holt, Ivan Illich, and Herbert Kohl, for example), its hazards are formidable.

The courts have tussled with this issue for generations. Many of these school cases — like the flag-salute and Seventh-day Adventist controversies — deal specifically with religious liberty, but they are tangled up with other rights as well. In 1923, for example, Nebraska was enforcing a law forbidding the teaching of modern foreign languages in public and private schools throughout the state. This measure, passed in a flurry of misguided patriotism during World War I, was clearly aimed at persons of German descent. The Supreme Court struck down the law, pointedly noting that it was predicated upon an "aversion toward every characteristic of truculent adversaries." Two years later, the Court overturned an Oregon law which, by making public school compulsory for every child in the state, essentially outlawed private schools. In sweeping language, the Court held that there was no "general power in the State to standardize its children."

A more recent case elicited a similarly heroic declaration from the Court. In 1969, three Iowa students were suspended for wearing black armbands in protest against the Vietnam war. The recently deceased former Justice Abe Fortas held such disciplinary actions to be unconstitutional; the armbands were political statements — a sort of symbolic speech — and as such were protected. Although Fortas admitted that the schoolroom is not the First Amendment equivalent of a soapbox at Hyde Park, his emphasis was clear. "It can hardly be argued," Fortas pronounced, "that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights at the schoolhouse gate."

The court, then, has historically been sensitive to the totalitarian dangers of public education. But brave generalizations about freedom or conformism give us little precise guidance by which to decide, in the future cases, exactly what is left at the schoolhouse gate and what is not. The difficulty is understandable. Who knows where socialization of America's children stops and impermissible standardization begins? When does the inculcation of values become indoctrination?

Moreover, who will decide these matters? A federal court, acting in the name of the Constitution? The Arkansas legislature? The city of Little Rock? Each elected school board? The principal and professional staff of each school? Each set of parents? Or, as William O. Douglas might have argued, each child? Effective socialization seems to demand that the schools reflect some degree of consensus on social and moral issues

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and, therefore, that decisions be made at a higher level. Respect for pluralism dictates leaving leeway to local school districts, or to single schools, to individual parents, or to individual students — all of which, it must be pointed out, may be at odds with one another.

Difficult though they are, these questions are popping up more and more frequently and in the most disparate of contexts. Hispanics may desire bilingual education; Catholics may request exemption from sex-education courses; blacks may object to the white, middle-class focus of the schools; and progressive parents may demand an end to the wave of school-board book bannings now engulfing the nation. It seems an intractable problem because the dangers and the desiderata of public education loom equally large. Socialization of our youth performs no less a task than the perpetuation of our culture, yet standardization of our youth flies in the face of a basic, distinguishing feature of that culture: the right to be different. Whether the participants in Little Rock knew it or not, this was the daunting question being batted about in Judge Overton's courtroom: How do we reconcile the America of the melting pot, the assimilator of all who come to her shores, with the America which prides itself as a hectic, diverse, disordered land, where people respect the right to be free, to be strange, to be wrong?

BIBLICAL FUNDAMENTALISTS VS. SCIENTISTIC ONES

The creationism controversy: the religious issues

ANNE BRENNAN

THE INSTITUTE for Creation Research and the Creation Research Society, with the support of the Moral Majority and similar religio-political groups, have been waging a nationwide campaign to require the teaching of creationism alongside evolution in public school biology classes. Last year, Florida's Hillsborough County School Board voted in favor of such a requirement. This was a regrettable decision, one that will cost a lot in time, energy, and taxpayers' dollars, not to mention student confusion, before it is inevitably reversed. It does reveal how prevalent are popular misconceptions about religion and science. But it obscures the real concerns at the heart of the fundamentalist attack on contemporary culture, and so delays any rational attempts to resolve the deeper issues.

Evolution is not a religious issue any more than creation is a proper object of scientific investigation. Evolution is a scientific theory. This doesn't mean that it's a guess which will become a fact when we're absolutely sure of it. A fact is merely a description of something we have observed. A theory is a tentative explanation of how a lot of facts are related. After repeated observations and debates, scientists may accept a theory as a reasonably sound and useful explanation of the available facts, knowing that the theory may have to be revised in light of future discoveries. The scientific academy is currently debating the mechanism of evolution, but it is unanimous in its acceptance of the theory of evolution, on the basis of an overwhelming body of confirming evidence.

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Creation names a divine activity which is certainly beyond our powers of observation. Religious belief in creation is rooted in an awareness of our dependence on mysterious powers that shape our origin and destiny. This sense of radical dependence has found expression in myth and ritual, belief systems, and moral codes. Myth is the language proper to religious experience. It expresses in drama and imagery the otherwise inexpressible awareness of a transcendent Other just beyond the reach of our imagination.

The Judeo/Christian belief in our absolute dependence on the God of Abraham and Jesus is beautifully expressed in the ancient Hebrew creation myths. The discovery in the past century of languages and texts from the biblical cultures gave scholars the tools they needed to unlock, at last, the meanings intended by the authors of Genesis. Their profound religious insights and literary genius had been obscured by centuries of mistaking superb poetic drama for something akin to the Congressional Record.

Faith in the biblical Creator is not based on such misinterpretation of Genesis. Nor is it based on scientific evidence, but on the religious experience of our contingency. The faith in creation expressed in Genesis does not answer our scientific questions about how things in the universe work, but our deeper questions about why there is anything at all, and why we assume it makes sense and is worth mastering.

It follows that a term like "scientific creationism" is self-contradictory, and about as meaningful as "mathematical love-making." Its widespread use is yet one more indication of what we might boldly call the scientific and religious illiteracy of the products of our nation's educational system. Equally revealing are debates entitled "Evolution vs. Creationism," which promise as much enlightenment as might debates enti-

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tled "Statistical Probability vs. Divine Providence," or "Penicillin vs. Prayer," or "Love vs. Vitamins."

Creationists and evolutionists often argue their cases like opponents in a lawsuit. Each claims to have an authentic photo of, say, an accident, while charging that the other's contradictory picture has been fraudulently touched up. The crucial insight that is missing is that science and religion are different but complementary ways of knowing, each with its own language and rules. They function not so much like contradictory pictures of the world, but more like different kinds of lenses through which we can view the world from different angles or in different lights. The discovery and growing ability to use both kinds of lenses is the story of civilization.

Primitive peoples saw their world through the single lens of their tribal myth. It was an all-encompassing view which fused the practical knowledge of common sense with a religious awareness of transcendent mystery. It provided an integrated system of answers to two basic kinds of questions: how do things in our world work relative to our survival; and why are so many things beyond our control? The tribal myth, fundamentally religious, indeed religious fundamentalism in its origins, was the certain and secure basis for tribal culture. It dictated the rituals and customs, the values and lifestyle, that insured tribal uniformity and survival.

The needs of critical thought eventually broke through the hard ground of tribal conformity, raising doubts about the adequacy of the myths to explain recurring natural events. As thinking developed and people began asking how things work in themselves, apart from practical or religious concerns, science was born. Centuries of theoretical questioning produced the various branches of science we have today. The twentieth century mind is the product of a long, irreversible process of development of what we might call its multiple-lens approach to reality. It is a regression for us to be arguing religion vs. science, creation vs. evolution at this stage of our civilization, as though we could only see through a single lens.

Evolution has been made to appear a religious issue by two opposing groups of religious fundamentalists, each proposing a single-lens view of reality. The biblical fundamentalists, interpreting the creation narratives in Genesis as historical and scientific records dictated by God, are compelled to reject any scientific theory which, like evolution, appears to contradict what God said. Never mind that their biblicism flies in the face of a century of biblical scholarship and is rejected by the majority of religious denominations whose traditions stem from the same biblical witness. This only reinforces their conviction that they are the righteous few who will be saved. Never mind that, like the churchmen who refused to look through Galileo's telescope, they must deny an enormous body of scientific evidence for evolution. This only proves that scientists are the tools of Satan, using the theory of evolution to spread vice and corruption everywhere. Never mind that many scientists see an evolving universe as an even more magnificent tribute to a Creator than a static one. They are lying, for only atheists "believe in" evolution. Salvation for us all lies in conversion to, or legal enforcement of, the biblical fundamentalists' tribal myth, with its unquestionable morals and mores.

The opposite extreme of religious fundamentalism is represented by the "secular humanists." Their creed is the Humanist Manifesto, I and II. Since they are neither secular nor humanistic, in the traditional sense, and their basic premise seems to be that science has displaced religion as the only valid way of acquiring knowledge of the real world, a better name for them might be "scientistic fundamentalists." This group does not seem bent on proselytizing, perhaps because it assumes that those who can leave behind the religious myths (read "fantasies") of mankind's childhood will be limited to the enlightened few. Their biases appear as gratuitous snipes at religion, such as sometimes mar the otherwise lucid writings of Isaac Asimov.

A perfect metaphor for scientistic fundamentalism is the TV program, "Cosmos." Carl Sagan has managed to take good scientific material and present it as a religious trip through the heavens, in a cathedral-like ship, enveloped in ethereal lighting and filled with hushed, tremulous tones, interspersed with sophistic sneers at those religious myths of our ancestors which science has displaced. Here is the reverse image of biblical fundamentalism. In place of the biblical myth, the scientistic fundamentalists propose the "science-is-all" myth. Instead of denying the evidence for evolution, they would deny the evidence for the validity of religious experience and knowledge. They would reject the deepest realm of human inquiry. But the religious quest can no more be extinguished by their sneers than can the scientific quest by religious dogmatism.

RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM, whether biblical, scientistic, or any other variety, will be ever with us. It is rooted in the fundamentally religious nature of human persons. Our most primitive religious impulse is to get some measure of control over the mystery that surrounds our existence. We are frightened by our vulnerability. We want to be sure about our ultimate well-being, however we imagine our salvation. By contrast, the message of the Bible is that we are called to go beyond our fear-ridden religious impulses and surrender in faith to the God who made us. That God promises light and life at the end of our quest.

Religious leaders of the Judaeo/Christian tradition would do the public a service by speaking out clearly against these false prophets, who offer certitudes and guarantees of salvation in place of that relationship with God, full of risk and uncertainty, that is biblical faith. They also might remind

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everyone that fidelity to the biblical Creator inspires an enthusiastic pursuit of scientific enquiry, not suspicion and condemnation.

Scientists, in turn, would be doing everyone a service if they would find ways to help the public understand just what it is they are doing and not doing when they are doing science. They need to make very clear which kinds of questions they can hope to answer and which they cannot, and why. They should refrain from giving the impression that scientific theories can prove religious beliefs, theistic or atheistic. And, they might caution those who would suggest that religious belief is necessarily opposed to science or is an outmoded approach which science has supplanted.

Religious fundamentalism is flourishing in our land, as elsewhere, because of the insecurity we are feeling in the wake of profound cultural changes. The information explosion of this century and rapid technological advances have made us unsure of things we once thought were unquestionable — and this at a time when we are challenged with increasingly complex kinds of ethical decisions. At the edge of our religious faith are some anxious doubts awakened by the new knowledge and by traumatic experience of evil on a global scale. And, beneath the excitement of our new conquests in science, there are some disquieting questions about whether our pursuits of meaning and happiness are absurd flounderings in a meaningless world, or whether there might, after all, be some ultimate source of meaning and value outside ourselves.

The fundamentalist grasp for absolutes is an understandable regression to the mythological security of the primitive tribe. It is a little like the ten-year-old, the first night in the new house, who clutches the old teddy bear to assuage his reawakened fears of the dark. We are all afraid of the dark. We need to stop whistling dissonant tunes at each other and turn on some lights!

Religious leaders, humanists, scientists, educators — all have a responsibility to help create a more intelligent and better informed American society. We cannot afford to lose our own or future generations to ignorance and bigotry. The challenge facing us in this age is to integrate a vast amount of new knowledge with authentic religious and moral values. We need to develop a new, rich self-image, one that can permeate the "brave new world" of our technology with human intelligence, freedom, and compassion. One powerful model for such an endeavor is the late French paleontologist theologian, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, who presented cosmic evolution as an illuminating framework for science, humanism, and Christianity. "Scientific creationism," however, is a facile attempt at the needed integration. It will inevitably fail, because it is true neither to the new knowledge nor to the biblical faith it is trying to preserve. But, it will have a far longer day in court because our schools have not produced citizens who can understand and think critically about the issues involved.

Rather than mandate the teaching of religion in science classes, school boards would better serve our society by adopting more fruitful policies, such as: 1) making comparative religion a required subject rather than an elective; 2) insuring that scientific method be clearly explained in all science courses from the earliest grades; 3) incorporating into the curriculum at every level exercises in critical thinking and problem-solving. What is at stake is our survival and growth as a free, pluralistic society, dedicated to the cause of advancing humanity on this planet and beyond, without fear, in the presence of the living God.

CHILE PERFECTS ITS TECHNIQUES OF REPRESSION

A somber anniversary

PAUL G. BUCHANAN

SEPTEMBER 11 marked the ninth anniversary of the coup d'état that overthrew the government of Salvador Allende. It is perversely ironic that the avowedly anti-Communist Chilean junta that celebrates this date has perfected the techniques of societal repression so effectively used throughout the Soviet bloc, towards which they claimed Chile was irrevocably leaning under Allende.

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While remaining the basis of their rule, brute force no longer constitutes the sole means of imposing the junta's will on the Chilean nation. Instead, as the junta becomes more entrenched with the passage of time, more subtle techniques for suppressing domestic opposition have been adopted, techniques that while not entirely replacing nor as notorious as the naked mass coercion practiced before, are no less effective. To the regular selective use of torture and disappearances have been added increased mass arrests, exile, internal banishment, physical intimidation, and psychological terror. What remains unchanged are the effects of prolonged authoritarian rule on the Chilean people: alienation, social stratification, and disenfranchisement, and above all fear, a pervasive fear that pro-

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motes the type of social apathy requisite for authoritarian success.

Given the Reagan administration's efforts to certify that the Chilean junta is a valuable ally that has made substantial progress in human rights and therefore warrants renewed military aid (which was cut off by the Carter administration in 1977), it is worthwhile that we pause on the ninth anniversary of that coup and reflect on the status of Chile in 1982, and in doing so reflect as well on the status of another event connected to the Chilean certification process — the murders of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit in Washington six years ago, ten days after the anniversary of the coup, an event which prompted the Carter decision to end military assistance to those charged with ordering the murders, the Chilean junta.

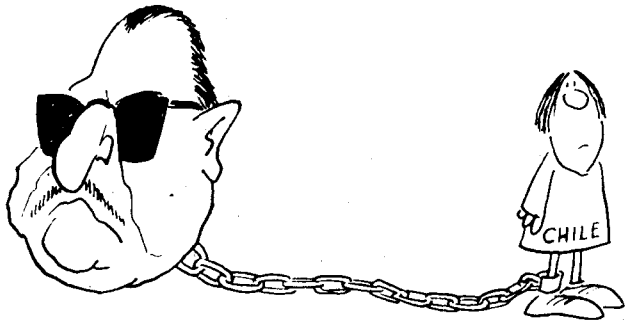
A QUICK LOOK at the Chilean situation in 1982 reveals the following. Political arrests through June stood at 557 individual cases and 7,719 mass detentions, compared to a total of 909 in 1981 and 509 in 1980. Publicly documented cases of torture through June amounted to 65; there were 68 such cases in all of 1981. The state of emergency remains in force now just as it did in 1973. Likewise, the ban on political parties remains in effect, as does the prohibition of worker and peasant meetings.

Expulsion and exile of dissidents resumed in 1981 after a three-year hiatus. There are now over 300,000 Chileans forced to live abroad for political reasons, 50,000 of whom have been permanently barred from returning to their homeland. Internal banishment, forced relocation to remote and inhospitable areas of the country, most often in mountainous regions, remains a standard practice, with over 100 individuals thus banished over the past two years.

Threats against and detention of human rights monitors, including officials of various church-sponsored groups, have increased markedly during the last year, to the point that church leaders have taken to regularly airing their concerns about these and other violations of human rights from the pulpit and in church publications. Even so, during recent weeks every human rights group in Santiago had its offices ransacked by military personnel, who rifled files and destroyed valuable documents in each instance.

The freedoms of association, speech, and thought, banned in 1973, are still proscribed by emergency law. In fact, Article 24 of the 1981 Chilean Constitution makes the state of emergency that imposes these and other limitations on the rights of citizens a permanent fact of Chilean life. The educational system continues to operate under military supervision. Sociology and political science are still not taught at the university level, having been classified as Marxist sciences (since when have Marxists exclusively appropriated certain facets of the social sciences?).

In sum, incidents of naked repression, which declined somewhat during the Carter years, have now begun to increase. The present state of affairs is therefore far from being anything near certifiable progress in human rights. Repression in Chile has just become more varied and sophisticated with



the gradual institutionalization of authoritarian rule. The realities of such rule for the majority of Chileans remain now much as they did before.

Nonetheless, right-wing regimes such as that governing Chile often predicate their position and policies on the achievement of economic and social stability, the latter via the physical eradication of domestic opposition, the former through the implementation of monetarist economic policies designed to reduce inflation and attract foreign investment. Having accomplished the one, these regimes plead for time in order to accrue the beneficial effects of the other, this being a marked increase in the material well-being of the nation as a whole. Human rights, they argue, include not only personal liberties and political rights, but material well-being as well.

From this perspective, in nations such as Chile where, as General Pinochet remarked, "traditional democracy is unable to defend itself against Marxism," trade-offs between the different components of human rights must of necessity be made. The convoluted logic of this *quid pro quo* should be substantiated by the realities of modern Chile, where limitations on civil liberties have paralleled the implementation of monetarist economic policies championed by a group of economists at the University of Chicago. If this logic and these policies hold true, the material well-being of the entire Chilean nation should have been raised substantially during the past few years. And yet, even by the logic of the junta's adherents themselves, human rights in Chile remain at present unacceptably poor.

THE CHILEAN ECONOMY is currently suffering through a major crisis, one so severe that Pinochet has twice ordered the mass resignation of his cabinet this year in order to effect an extensive overhaul of the economic apparatus. Industrial production fell 14 percent in the first quarter of 1982, the much heralded inflation rate rose from 9.5 percent in 1981 to over 15 percent (and rising) this year, interest rates have soared, construction has slumped, bankruptcies have increased dramatically, and by August the unemployment rate had risen to a record level 23 percent of the total work force. In the Santiago area alone over one million people are out of work. The peso has been devalued twice in the past year, compounding the misery.

All this in a country where the laboring classes have already been victimized by the junta's economic measures (since 1973 the bottom 60 percent of the population have lost 19 percent of their consumption power of that year, versus a 15 percent rise

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in the consumption of the top 20 percent of Chilean wage-earners), and where there exists no institutional insulation against a recession. All unions have been placed under *de facto* military control and are subject to official recognition, as well as proscribed from political activity. National confederations of labor and trade organizations remain dissolved, public health and retirement services have been closed or turned over to private hands (effectively excluding the majority of the population), public education has been curtailed, and, not coincidentally with all of this, the incidence of malnutrition has, according to world health organizations, risen alarmingly in the last year.

There is no measure that can claim that the people of Chile are on the whole better off today than they were nine years ago. They have no political freedom (something they had then), few if any individual rights (which they had then), and now have for the most part lost whatever material gains they may have made over the last nine years (which does not apply to a majority of the population), this as a result of the economic malaise brought on by the pursuit of the junta's economic policies. Not individually, not collectively, not materially can the majority of Chileans claim to be better off than they were nine years ago.

The junta's response to all this, beyond the reshuffling of the cabinet, has been to crack down vigorously on the unrest that has surfaced along with the economic deterioration of the nation. This is an attempt by Pinochet and his minions to demonstrate that they have not been weakened by the crisis, and that come what may, they are willing to do whatever is necessary to ensure their permanence in power.

Thus the only certifiable fact is that Chile at present remains a very oppressive state, maybe not for the rich or the internationalized classes, but certainly for the majority of the population. To say that there has been progress in human rights in Chile only serves to admit an acute myopia that is unwilling or unable to see fault in those governments that are ostensibly on "our side" in the international political spectrum. One would think that this notion had been laid to rest by Argentina's actions in precipitating the South Atlantic conflict, but yet it still persists within the Reagan administration.

The fact is that Chile is on a path similar to the one fostered by Franco in Spain and the generals in Brazil: the gradual entrenchment and institutionalization of authoritarian rule, aided by the passage of time and the elimination of internal enemies, overcome in the long run only by death, economic chaos, social upheaval, or gradual and limited withdrawal, the exact conditions of which cannot be accurately foreseen.

AS FOR THE STATUS of the Letelier-Moffit case, little can be said because so little has been done over the last twelve months. The three Chilean intelligence officials responsible for ordering the murders remain untouched in Chile, the Justice Department's attempts at extradition frustrated by Chilean government denials, misinformation, and labyrinthian legal maneuvering.

U.S. prosecutors of the case are vehement in their condemnation of the Chilean junta's attitude, which has been one of consistent refusal to comply with U.S. demands that those responsible for the murders be brought to justice. This cynicism on the part of the junta is further evident in other acts. The Chilean lawyer hired by the Letelier family to represent their interests in Chile was recently expelled from the country. The hit-man-turned-government-witness hired to kill Letelier writes letters from prison that reveal his high position in the Chilean secret police (a claim previously denied by the junta), and that his legal fees and family expenses while on trial and in prison are being paid by the junta. He also exposes other assassination plots by the junta against various dissidents living abroad, including successful attacks in Italy and Argentina.

The overall picture presented by the Chilean junta is one of utter contempt for justice, legal norms, and democratic institutions. They have and will continue to do as they please in pursuit of their narrow, self-serving objectives, checked only by the pressures exerted on them by the international community.

Yet despite this, the Reagan administration continues to press for resuming military exports to the Chilean armed forces. This is wrong. U.S. friends in the world are not those who ideologically are on "our" side, but those in which individual rights and freedom are respected. Our enemies are not merely those who are ideologically opposed to us, but are all those who would seek to restrict the will of their people, who curtail freedom, and who repress and persecute — in sum, authoritarian regimes, both leftist and rightist, regardless of artificial distinctions.

While the regional security requirements of realpolitik may make it necessary for the U.S. to have military ties with certain front-line authoritarian regimes that are on "our" side, Chile is clearly not one of them. Thus, until genuine progress in human rights occurs in Chile, there can be no doubt that it belongs with the bad guys, not the good, and deserves our continued condemnation, not renewed assistance.

Rhina P. Espaillat

Metrics

I like the clattering of hoof on street
Signaling "horse"; slow course of fruit
From earth, air, water, sun, and root
Through branch to ripened flower makes it sweet;

Under soul's music, the eternal tone,
I like mortality to play the bass;
Love and the dancer's gestures must be grace
Wrested from bone.

All things, however magneted by cause,
Should bear their nature's imprint to the end:
Should shadow forth the whole to which they tend,
But keep small laws.

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FAMILY BREAKUPS ON FILM

There's no place like home

TOM O'BRIEN

WHY DO MOVIES about marital breakup need villains? Although this need was only subtly evident in earlier versions of the breakup tale, like *Ordinary People* and *Kramer vs. Kramer*, it dominates the more recent *Shoot the Moon* and *Smash Palace*. Two things have changed, however: in the former, the mothers were the villains, and in the latter, fathers. Furthermore, the newer movies contain a more disturbing element: they clearly show fathers destroying homes but neither condemn nor criticize this. Despite critical acclaim, they are not examples of "domestic realism," but gratuitous violence masquerading as adult melodrama.

Some viewers may excuse the presence of villains, and even have sympathy for them, as a bow to the imperatives of plot or the modern fad of the anti-hero. But these defenses seem weak when the movies are examined closely and their patterns, or psychopathology, emerge. Moviemakers in the "domestic realism" genre seem incapable of conceiving of a breakup as an agonizing but mature, or coldly indifferent, or simply *moderately* hostile parting between two people who no longer get along; they seem to need to find a demon under every unused marriage bed. The newer versions of these films extend this basic exaggeration by sympathy for the devil.

Most of the films have, however, been well received by critics as a welcome change from kung-fu and sci-fi, or alternatively, from the older cinematic versions of hunky-dory American family life. Some feminists grouched that Hollywood never discovered the problems of a single parent until it found the perfect film for the single father in *Kramer vs. Kramer;* despite liking the film, the *Ms.* critic confessed feeling that she had been slightly used. But these demurrers were exceptions to the general critical praise, which resulted in several Academy Awards for *Kramer vs. Kramer* and *Ordinary People* in 1980 and 1981. *Shoot the Moon* and *Smash Palace* have similarly received laudatory reviews — *Smash Palace* was praised by Vincent Canby of the *New York Times* as "one of the best of the lot" of the domestic realism genre. It is, of course, riding the crest of another fad as well as the latest down-under film, though not from Australia but New Zealand. Being *au courant* can cover a multitude of sins.

To be sure, such movies are welcome in focusing attention in a relatively mature way on the tensions of family life — anything is better than *Father Knows Best*. But how much better? *Shoot the Moon* for all the critical praise, provided an inverse fantasy: father knows worst. In *Smash Palace*, moreover, a father's fantasy to be a child again is expressed through an incestuous regard for his daughter — another unconscious fad of the times. The movie details psychotic regression, not family tensions.

Fatherhood per se has an impressive genealogy in recent films. with *Coal Miner's Daughter, Santini and Son, Tribute*, and above all *Kramer vs. Kramer* and *Ordinary People*. In these last two, the triangular relationship of mother-father-son dominated the story line, with the plot reconciling father and son as the true partners and expelling the mother as emotionally superficial. This was obvious in *Ordinary People*, with Mary Tyler Moore's expulsion at the close, when she lacks the emotional maturity even to raise her voice beyond a shudder to stop the breakup. In *Kramer vs. Kramer*, the plot was more subtle; with a view of Dustin Hoffman as a Madison Avenue honcho early in the film, Meryl Streep as the mother wins our sympathy at first; when she disappears after walking out, however, the equation shifts. Hoffman changes into a tender father; the returning mother is transformed into an outside force threatening to break up the new intimacy between the males. The movie ends with her enlightenment about how wrong she's been and her self-imposed punishment. Here, father still knows best.

Curiously, the plot of both these movies falls into the classic pattern outlined in Leslie Fiedler's *Love and Death in the American Novel:* fathers and sons are reunited at the expense of a mother or mother figure. Thus, while both movies reflect a new emphasis on fatherhood — one of the best results of changing relations between the sexes — they also conform to an older pattern. For all their worth and dignity, *Kramer vs. Kramer* and *Ordinary People* sacrificed mothers on the altar of male bathos.

The male psychosis in the newer movies is even more disturbing. From the opening of *Shoot the Moon*, for example, Albert Finney plays an ugly character. He is a traitor to his family, overheard by his eldest daughter in a phone conversation with a girlfriend who later distinguishes herself by telling another of Finney's children that "making love to your daddy is like eating an ice cream cone." Diane Keaton plays Finney's wife, Faith, and tries to keep the family circle together when he leaves home; soon, however, she takes up a new boyfriend, a redneck paving the surface of her tennis court.

The bulk of the movie enacts a grotesque, sadistic vengeance on the husband. He tries to maintain power from outside the family circle by taking his children on expeditions, but the oldest daughter wants nothing to do with him. When he attempts to give her a birthday gift, she refuses, precipitating the first brutal physical assault of the film — followed by a tender, incestuous love duet. In another scene, Finney and Keaton fight, publicly, absurdly, in a restaurant,

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but naturally conclude by making love. The only difference between this and Doris Day-Rock Hudson scenes are four-letter words and explicit sex.

The movie is constructed on these cycles of violence and tenderness, and one keeps hoping for them to stop. But no one comes to understand why the cycles persist; no one bothers to try. There can be no real denouement because there is no real growth, not even to a conscious acceptance of ambivalence. The characters are too superficial to *suspect* that they are puppets of compulsions, particularly a perpetual I-can't-live-with-you-or-without-you mania. The end of the film typifies its dead-end character: after a closing apocalypse of family violence on the tennis court (where else?), a beaten Finney reaches his hand out and calls, "Faith, Faith." The movie ends with a final question about her power: does she, or doesn't she, respond to the broken, impotent male? But the small value of the pun on "faith," and the echo of Hawthorne's "Young Goodman Brown," is lost in the terrible impression that her answer does not matter. New tenderness would only precipitate new violence.

Smash Palace ends on the same equivocal but violent note. Its male lead is even more psychotic, destroying his marriage for no discernible purpose, not even another girlfriend. He drives his wife crazy by refusing to please her in small ways (like going to a local party) or discussing their big problems (she wants him to sell the autobody garage, or "smash palace," he inherited). Presumably the garage has sentimental value as the place he grew up in, but if so, the husband petulantly keeps this to himself. He articulates his regression in others ways, commenting, for example, that "the only lady in my life is seven years old," a cute daughter named Georgie whom he prefers to wife or any potential girlfriend. His relation to this child, while tender, is therefore suspect as another method of avoiding adulthood. His own childishness is most evident when he drives his wife into the arms of another man and then accuses her of infidelity. In short, this is not a movie, about a "breakup" but a crack-up, a crack-up caused by childish delusions of betrayal and persecution.

There are, of course, defenses for this kind of movie-making: directors have no responsibility to dignify life, psychotics exist, etc. But these newer movies are depressing because they do not seem to be conscious of the dementia that they are representing. They allow no way to measure a norm, either by directorial irony or by a sympathetic leading character. *Shoot the Moon* and *Smash Palace* illustrate the commonplace difference between laughing *with* or laughing *at* someone, although here the issue is crying. In *Smash Palace*, in particular, there is no sense of distance between the moviemakers and their subject, but rather some extra sadistic violence thrown in that has nothing to do with the main plot.

Breakup movies reveal one more disturbing pattern: cross-generational sex. Together with other kinds of movies — *Private Lessons, Manhattan, Get Out Your Handkerchiefs* — breakup films locate primary emotional relationships *between* generations, not within them. The movies thus document a desire to avoid or drop out of the pursuit of mature heterosexual love as simply too difficult. Their key characters are not really husbands and wives, but mommies and daddies. While such characters are important, in treating them the directors don't scrutinize fantasies; they mirror them. And while such unconsciousness might be acceptable in a film like *Conan the Barbarian*, home life deserves something better. Father and mother neither know best nor worst, but moviemakers either don't know that, or are afraid to say it. So far, the new realism is a set of old clichés, twisted, and writ large.

Books: EMERGING AUTHORITARIANISM?

POST-CONSERVATIVE AMERICA,
PEOPLE, POLITICS AND
IDEOLOGY IN A TIME OF CRISIS

Kevin P. Phillips
Random House, $14.50, 258 pp.

THE NEW RIGHT PAPERS

Edited by Robert W. Whittaker
St. Martin's Press, $12.95, 256 pp.

Fred Siegel

IN THE *Devil's Dictionary* Ambrose Bierce defined a prophet as someone who has mastered "the art and practice of selling [his] credibility for future delivery." Kevin Phillips has been hailed as just such a prophet. The publication of his *The Emerging Republican Majority* in 1969, which anticipated the basis for Nixon's 1972 sweep, put him in the unusual position of a political soothsayer whose predictions had largely come true. Since then writing in his highly influential newsletter, the *American Political Report*, and in a second book, *Mediacracy*, the man who coined the phrases "New Right" and "Sunbelt" has elaborated on his contention that American politics is moved by the conflict between mass and class, between populism and prescriptive elites. In what can be best described as a right-wing version of Beardianism, Phillips has insisted that an alliance between the growing political strength of the Sunbelt and the street-corner conservatives of the Northeast, was the basis for a coalition which would reshape American politics.

But those who pick up Phillips's *Post-Conservative America* hoping for another thunderbolt like *The Emerging Republican Majority* are bound to be disappointed. While the earlier book was dense and generally tightly argued, this new work is a loosely organized collection of snippets from his newsletter and previously published articles in which he moves through numerous topics at tabloid speed. It's marred by a porous terminology, far-fetched analogies, and

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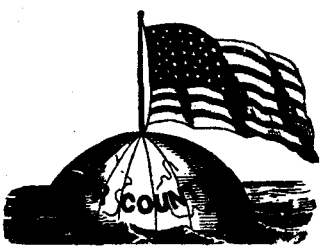
shoddy reasoning. When he talks of "sociology by administrative fiat," he clearly means administration by sociological fiat. When he tries to typify the Jewish move away from the Democrats by comparing the strong Reagan vote from the Orthodox remnant on New York's fabled lower east side with the large socialist vote there seventy years ago, he fails to note an almost complete turnover in population. This gaffe, an odd one indeed for a New Yorker, is unfortunately typical for a book that has numerous paragraphs which begin with "little information is available . . ." only to conclude that "clearly. . . ."

Woven through the book are three minor themes and one central one. The minor sections, which serve as a prelude, concern (a) why it was that the political realignment Phillips expected for 1976 never came to pass; (b) why 1980 was not the realigning election Republicans and conservatives had hoped for; and, closely related, (c) why the Reagan administration has already, in his view, failed. These provide the backdrop for what has garnered the most attention, his prediction that the failure of Reaganism will produce a shift further to the right, a shift toward what he calls "apple-pie authoritarianism," rather than a swing back to the center.

His answer to (a) is simple. He blames it all on Watergate. Without that third-rate burglary, he argues, the Republicans would have swept the '74 congressional races and Nixon would have been succeeded by John Connally, who would have cemented the new majority. There are at least three problems with this scenario, namely the outcomes of the '70 and '72 congressional elections and Nixon himself.

In 1970, the Republicans, armed with high hopes and a seemingly sure fire law-and-order issue, gained all of two Senate seats while losing a dozen congressional races to a Democratic party still reeling from the Chicago riots. In 1972, the Republicans again failed to make any gains; and here Phillips is forced into the implausible proposition that despite Nixon's having run with barely a mention of the GOP, it was the Republican congressional candidates who bore the brunt of Watergate.

But most damning of all is the behavior of Nixon himelf. Phillips goes out of his way to mock the acumen of his former boss, asking whether anyone "who saw the massive electoral opportunity which lay ahead in '72 would have given Gordon Liddy a go-ahead on an inane political attempt at espionage?" It's a good question. Given Nixon's ineptness — he had the good fortune to run against a badly divided Democratic party both in '68 and '72 — is there any reason to assume that he would have been able to seize the political reins Phillips held out for him? Cuckolded by Watergate, Phillips is blind to the way in which it was only with the Carter fiasco at interest-



group liberalism that the country was willing to experiment with the kind of conservative administration he had been touting for more than a decade.

In answer to (b), Phillips argues convincingly that by 1980 American political institutions had been so weakened by television and the dissolution of old loyalties that a stabilizing realignment of the parties was no longer possible. The parties were, he points out, products of an earlier industrial age and are increasingly ill-suited to a post-industrial era. Rather than heralding a new age then, Reagan's administration, beset by the tensions between the heirs of Andrew Jackson and those of Andrew Mellon, is just an interregnum, a shakeout period before the creation of new and expectedly authoritarian institutions.

Reagan was elected, says Phillips, by trading on the nostalgic yearnings of the American people for a return to the halcyon days before the 1960s. Swept into office by popular hopes for a restoration of what Teddy White has called "the old country," Reagan fat cats and free-market ideologues have created, says Phillips, a country-club administration that has failed to deliver on its promises. The administration's free-market instincts make it deaf to the anti-free trade and anti-immigration sentiments growing among erstwhile blue-collar supporters. This, not to mention the general revulsion on the part of small businessmen against high interest rate policies, is all part of what he sees a growing pressure for more, not less, active government involvement in the economy.

After dismissing Reagan, Phillips scans the conjuncture between the political and economic currents to argue that the demand for a populist restoration is clearing the way for a new plebisitary state which will retain the forms of democracy while concentrating power in an executive strongman. He doesn't specify whom he has in mind for such an exalted position, but it's clear it would have to be someone like Phillips's beau ideal, Big Jawn Connally, the man who would have been king.

If we accept Phillips's contention that there has been a serious breakdown of our public institutions over the past two decades, and if we agree that fundamental changes are needed for the economy, it is still difficult to see how Phillips expects us to get from our current situation to the authoritarian future he envisions. Connally's brand of assertive nationalism and strong government, for instance, was a notorious failure in 1980, something Phillips conspicuously fails to mention.

Granted there has been a rising tide of middle-class discontent, and granted a growing and potentially dangerous split between popular and elite opinion on numerous cultural and social issues, but Phillips nowhere adduces the growth of a social movement or movements capable of creating the kind of future he envisions. Unsatisfied with Phillips, I turned to a collection of papers by New Right spokesmen, *The New Right Papers,* to find evidence for the kind of middle-class radicalism that could produce authoritarianism, or even fascism; but found this book wanting as well. Like Phillips, the authors of the collection cite the growth of Klan strength and the ferocity of textbook fights in West Virginia and busing controversies on both coasts;

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but like Phillips their ear for bluster far exceeds their nose for evidence. Nowhere is there any indication of a movement remotely comparable in strength to those of Coughlin or Long in the 1930s.

Moreover if we look at the religious right, which would presumably be at the center of the emerging oxymoron, apple-pie authoritarianism, we see a movement which despite Phillips's wishes (wishes which are all too often partner to his interpretation) is waning and divided. The Moral Majority is no longer marching from victory to victory and the Christian right is riven by bitter feuds between Falwell and Robertson and Falwell and Jones. Rather than being welcomed, the religious right-wingers are finding that Republican candidates even in the South are shying away from both the Moral Majority and the once dreaded MCPAC on the grounds that they frighten more voters than they attract.

Unable to show how we are likely to move from our present situation into the semi-fascist future, Phillips is forced to rely on strained analogies to do the work of explanation. Analogies from ancient Rome, Cromwell's England, Weimar, and contemporary Europe cascade across the pages. Some like Weimar are hackneyed and inappropriate; others are simply ludicrous, such as his comparison between Europe's aristocratic, anti-Christian New Right and our own. At some points he creates a staircase of analogies; he first argues, for example, that Nixon's fall was like a regicide and then goes on to point to the regimes which followed regicides in England, France, Russia, Germany, and Spain: ergo we should expect strongman rule sometime soon.

Phillips's frequent use of European analogies is ironic considering that he made his reputation by emphasizing the peculiarly American character of the past decades' populist protests. But perhaps what is most peculiar in this treasure trove of oddities is that Phillips overlooks the American precedents which most directly bear on his argument. He seems unaware that less than fifty years ago an earlier generation of American intellectuals was debating whether democracy could withstand the pressures of political centralization and economic hard times. It was in the thirties that Lawrence Dennis, a self-proclaimed advocate of an American fascism, argued that democracy and liberal capitalism were dead, the victims of economic concentration and international competition. Dennis argued that only an evolving corporatism could save the nation from social and economic chaos. Dennis was wrong then and it's likely that Phillips is wrong now.

The small core of Revelation

A PASSION FOR TRUTH
HANS KÜNG AND HIS THEOLOGY

Robert Nowell
Crossroad, $14.95, 377 pp.

Gerard S. Sloyan

THIS is an altogether helpful book. It reports on the teaching and pastoral career, but more the theological writing, of the Basel diocesan priest on the University of Tübingen faculty whose output has been so influential since 1960. Nowell is an English journalist with a sense of history. His editorial service on *The Tablet* and the highly regarded *Herder Correspondence* (produced independently of the German original) certifies his competence. The book's lively style, occasionally repetitive of detail, establishes that complex theological issues need not be written about obscurely. There is a general felicity of expression and an incidental intelligence in all sorts of matters that adds sauce to the stew.

Nowell is favorably disposed to his subject but this is not a work of *hommage*. Küng's chief shortcoming seems to be an impatience that others cannot see what he sees, in his case the opaqueness of church authorities to the increasingly clear view ordinary Catholics have of what and how they believe. It is impossible for anyone today, including Küng himself, to read *The Council, Reform, and Reunion* (1961) with the same glasses as in the pre-Council period. History has more than one way of cheating the prophets, including making them redundant by fulfillment. The prophet, oblivious of all this, wants action now. Küng does not emerge as a man of pique, arrogance, or any of the other brushes with which he has been tarred so as to be dismissed. He looks like a committed Catholic who knows what he knows and literally has a passion for the truth. Anyone who remarks, "his truth" (and they have been not a few) should be reminded that no one has ever held with passion any other.

The book traces the man's thought through the development of his theology. *Justification*, his doctoral dissertation at the Catholic Institute of Paris under Louis Bouyer, examined the theology of Karl Barth from a Catholic viewpoint. It concluded that Catholics tend to mean by redemption what Protestants mean by justification and that the areas of convergence between Barth and the teaching of the Catholic church were greater than anyone realized. The older man wrote Küng a letter which became the book's introduction, saying that Küng had fully and accurately reproduced his views and that he, Barth, may have been long guilty of a persistent injustice to the Roman Catholic Church and especially the Fathers of Trent. The Holy Office opened a file on the man whose dissertation viewed the theology of a heretic so favorably. The year was 1957.

The book on the Council was written during a year as research assistant in Münster shortly after John XXIII announced its convening in January 1959. Küng was invited to accept a professorship at Tübingen in 1960 without having earned his *Habilitation*, the teaching degree. (Barth had been appointed to a special professorship at Göttingen without even a doctorate on the basis of his commentary on Romans.) *The Council* suggested that there was no irreformable essence of the church's institutions as established by God which served as a ground floor on which a second storey of reformable elements was built. Every institution, even the holiest (the celebration of the Eucharist, the preaching of the Gospel, the papacy) can decline. Only

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What Küng has done is thus to try to express Christianity in such a way that one no longer has to make excuses for being a Christian. For him and – as is shown by the response he has gained – for very many others, Christianity is fundamentally reasonable, even if it necessarily transcends reason. In this endeavor he sees no cause to be bound by the dead pieties of the past, by ways of thought and practices that in their time may have been valid enough but now present a positive hindrance to the Gospel.

—Robert Nowell
A Passion for Truth

the basic irreformable pattern given by God through Jesus Christ may not be set aside.

Küng's willingness to set everything, church and all, before the judgment of a holy God would be the distinguishing feature of his subsequent work. The non-negotiable difference between him and his Catholic opponents would prove to be what, exactly, was of God, hence could not be set aside. The Nowell book reveals that whether the dispute be over the church, infallibility, birth control, marriage legislation, or Christian existence itself, Küng stands for that small core which was delivered by revelation, chiefly the person and teaching of Jesus as testified to in the Bible, while others are equally at ease with its considerable enlargement (sacraments, offices, organizations). The difference proved time and again irreducible.

His book *The Church* (1967) examined critically the church's origins in Jesus's life and teaching, its dimensions of unity, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity, the Petrine office and various other ministries. The Gospel is proposed throughout as the standard by which ultimately all Christian behavior and doctrine must be guided. It and not the Petrine ministry, rock for the church though it be, is the criterion for deciding what is church and what is not church.

A rebuke from the Doctrinal Congregation (the former Holy Office) was delivered to the diocese of Rottenburg where Tübingen is located because *The Church* bore no *imprimatur*. Thus did his thirteen years of attention by Roman authority and the German bishops begin. The differences between the disputants are reported with care, if not in the detail found in Leonard Swidler's book of documents *Küng in Conflict* (Doubleday, $8.95, 627 pp.). The procedural differences between the two sets of litigants and Küng emerge early. Starting with *The Church* and continuing through *Infallible? An Inquiry* (1970) and *On Being a Christian* (1974), Küng asked the Doctrinal Congregation if he could see his dossier, have the names of those who would be taking part in the talks, and be allowed theological counsel of his own choosing. He was consistently told that no trial was envisioned, only conversations in which he would be asked to clarify his views, and in the end was charged by the curial officials and the German bishops with having refused a legitimate summons. Substantively, he was thought to have dealt with numerous questions in ways inconsonant with the teaching of the church (the prohibition of artificial contraception, church and papal infallibility, the sole valid minister of the Eucharist) which popes and councils had settled long ago. Cardinal Höffner of Cologne in particular, head of the conference of German bishops, wanted Küng to profess his faith in the divinity of Christ in traditional creedal language and would not accept his protestations of such faith in any other terms.

Nowell's book is useful both for those unfamiliar with the man and his work and those long familiar with his case. It sheds light on matters like Karl Rahner's statement that in the infallibility question he had to argue with Küng as with a "liberal Protestant" and his subsequent qualified regret; also, the failure of the majority of Küng's departmental colleagues to back him because of their fear that the government would bring confessional theological faculties to an end. Küng's contention that God maintains an erring church in truth versus the claim that in certain cases it or its teachers cannot err is dealt with in a way that can only illumine.

This is not primarily a book about controversy but about Catholic faith and theology. Because it is temperate, informative, and judicious it is to be recommended highly.

Mapping our minds

THE UNIVERSE WITHIN
Morton Hunt
Simon and Schuster, $18.75, 415 pp.

Arthur L. Blumenthal

MORTON HUNT has endured more than his share of esoteric conversation. He is one of the most ambitious in a long line of journalists who have penetrated the sanctuaries of academic and scientific entrepreneurs to survey their work and to expose their idiosyncracies. In this engaging book he unravels the mysterious and complex ways of a new breed of psychologists who call themselves "cognitive scientists."

Ever since it became a laboratory science about a century ago psychology has been a popular topic for such surveys. While the first psychological laboratories were being founded with much flourish in the 1880s and 1890s, a series of procedures was worked out for teasing apart mental processes and structures. The methods were based mostly on reaction-time measurements, but included a variety of other techniques (all still in use today). In the heady atmosphere of that time stunning predictions were made of impending breakthroughs in explaining the workings of the mind.

Indeed some real progress was made in those early years, as anyone who carefully examines that early research can discover. That progress added to the excitement when the new laboratory psychology first came into public view in a pavilion of its own at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. It was around that time that popular books explaining this enterprise to laymen first appeared (or if not exactly explaining it, at least conveying its spirit and excitement). Perhaps the

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best example from the 1900s is E. W. Scripture's *The New Psychology* (1895).

As anyone who has been through a college-level introductory psychology course should know, the "new" psychology of a century ago has been renewed and re-renewed with at least every subsequent generation of psychologists. Each renewal, whether it was behaviorism, psychoanalysis, learning theory, gestalt psychology, or cognitive psychology (the topic of Hunt's book), claimed the same revolutionary spirit, shared the same tendency to dismiss what had gone before (usually distorting or misrepresenting the work of the previous generation), and shared the tendency to make startling predictions about impending breakthroughs. Each renewal contributed something of value but also changed the definition of psychology and provided it with a new technical vocabulary — which helped separate the newest movement from earlier ones.

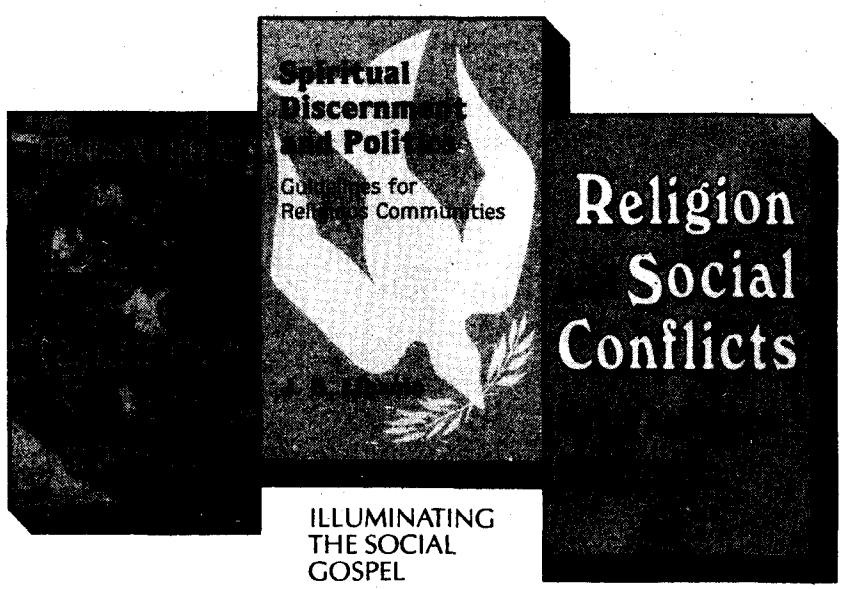
Such a pattern is found, to some degree, in every science. Psychology's case, however, may be the most extreme. At least psychology's history has well served those writers who enjoy reporting its latest progress to laymen. A sample of those reports from the past decade is Nigel Calder's *The Mind of Man* (Viking, 1971), Maggie Scarf's *Body, Mind, Behavior* (New Republic Books, 1976), Gordon Ratay Taylor's *The Natural History of the Mind* (Dutton, 1979), Joseph Jastrow's *The Enchanted Loom: The Universe of the Mind* (Simon & Schuster, 1981), Eric Harth's *Window on the Mind* (Morrow, 1982), and now Morton Hunt's *The Universe Within*.

Hunt's book certainly stands out as one of the best of this genre. Of the books listed above, it is closest in spirit to Taylor's book, although each of the above is quite different from the others. In most cases the authors have consulted a few leading psychologists and brain scientists, basing their books on the descriptions, judgments, and biases of those authorities. The consulted individuals differ from book to book, and so the designation of leading research problems also differs.

Hunt relies heavily on the guidance of Donald Norman, Director of the Program in Cognitive Science at the University of California, San Diego, and also on John Lockhead, Director of the Cognitive Development Project at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Taylor, in contrast, consults primarily the researchers at M.I.T.'s Neuroscience Research Program and at the Brain Research Institute (Los Angeles). This explains many of the differences between the two books.

Taylor focuses on the recent work on

> *I have often heard people say that they find the situation more like that of [physics] in the early seventeenth century, just before Newton. One cognitive scientist says that many of his colleagues already fancy themselves the field's Newton, although as yet none but each one's own graduate students agree.*
>
> —Morton Hunt
> *The Universe Within*



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the nature of *consciousness* as a natural biological phenomenon, one that is being investigated and explained in scientific ways. In Hunt's book, however, consciousness receives at most a few pages and is treated as a completely mystifying puzzle barely touched by scientists. Hunt's authorities may still share some of the behaviorists' classic uneasiness about consciousness as a scientific topic.

Hunt focuses on studies of human intelligence, problem-solving, and creativity with special emphasis on comparisons of human performance against that of the electronic computer. Those comparisons are an interdisciplinary enterprise that goes beyond psychologists to include computer engineers, logicians, linguists, philosophers, and others. When such specialists come together they are now collectively called "cognitive scientists" — the hottest new buzz-word in many a university psychology department.

And well it should be. For to be known as a cognitive scientist makes one a potential candidate for a generous research grant from a rich source at a time when most other grant sources are drying up and when many research projects are forced to shut down. The source of largess is the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation which has designated $20 million for cognitive science research. Another of the authorities that Hunt relies on most directly is Kenneth Klivington, Program Officer of the Sloan Foundation.

The committees of experts that Sloan chose to define the field of "cognitive science" are also many of those who receive Sloan funds, and who are, for the most part, the focus of this book. Of the several themes in cognitive science as defined by the Sloan Foundation, the one that seems most pervasive is the computer as a model or metaphor for describing human mental processes — a theme throughout Hunt's book.

Hunt is generally sympathetic to the scientists he interviews, but in one place (Chapter 9), a high point in the book, he is less so. This is where he examines the claims of a group of cognitive scientists for whom the computer metaphor appears to have become more interesting than the phenomenon (person) it was intended to describe. It is from these individuals that we receive the predictions about computers taking over human capacities — instantaneously comprehending human speech, surpassing human problem-solving abilities, perceptual abilities, creativity, indeed even entirely replacing *homo sapiens* on this planet!

The forecasted dates are all rather shocking — typically before the end of this century. But alas, in many cases the date of the predicted supersession of the machine has already passed uneventfully. Hunt shows what a shallow form of thinking underlies such predictions and even how shallow it would be to keep moving the date back a few years each time the predicted evolution of computer intelligence fails to appear.

This well-written book ends on that note. In a final *coda* it leaves a flourish of comments on morality and values as the characteristics that distinguish humans from machines.

Hunt has done an admirable job in summarizing the promises and not too solid advances of current cognitive psychology. It is only a comment on the overwhelming size and complexity of this field to say that he has not seen all that passes under that title, nor has he seen the intricate relations of this recent work to the broader history of psychology. But any historical naiveté probably rests more with the cognitive scientists than with Morton Hunt.

The Way Out

. . . We can't stand still. The only way out is forward. By this I mean we have got to find some way of freeing ourselves from the danger of war itself, the one thing which is generally accepted as being impossible. Perhaps it is. But we have not got much choice. Nuclear weapons have brought something new in the world — a threat posed by arms so vast it undermines the last claims of war as a rational means of defense. . . .

The only route forward I can see is through arms negotiations, but negotiations with a somewhat different emphasis. Limiting the numbers of weapons, or the development of new ones, is useful and helpful. It reduces the amount of hardware which might be available in the opening stage of a war. But even more importantly, agreement — on arms or any other substantial matter of mutual interest — establishes a working climate of trust and cooperation. Negotiating . . . encourages people to think security depends on agreements, not on threats of violence. It channels debate toward the language of justice, equity, and fairness. It tends to narrow differences, since even failures to agree generally do not fail by much. But perhaps most important of all, it provides hope of a way out.

——Thomas Powers in, *Commonweal*, October 9, 1981.

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Training for the forced march

THE COMPLETE POETRY

Miklós Radnóti

Edited and translated by Emery George Ardis, $17.50, $7.50 paper, 400 pp.

Ivan Sanders

THOUGH relatively little known in the West, Miklós Radnóti (1909-1944) is already a legend in his native Hungary. In recent years several attempts have been made to introduce Radnóti's work in the English-speaking world and of these Emery George's is by far the most ambitious. Hungarian-born himself, George belongs to the generation for which Radnóti has come to represent an ideal—the modern poet who clung with stoic serenity to the humane values of the Western tradition at the very moment the forces of inhumanity tried frantically to destroy them. Radnóti, at the age of thirty-five, fell victim to these forces; in late 1944, during a forced march westward across Hungary, he along with other members of his forced labor company were shot to death by their Hungarian guards. After the war his body was removed from a mass grave, and his last poems, his most gripping, written days before he was killed, were discovered in his coat pocket.

Martyrdom ennobles, of course; Miklós Radnóti's tragic fate lends a special poignancy to his work. But what makes his mature poetry even more extraordinary is that he intimated the horrors to come long before Europe was engulfed in war, and saw the artist's lot as an especially melancholy one. In the first of his celebrated eclogues, for example, written in 1938, he has the Poet say:

Cannon rumbling? in ashen ruins,
With villages orphaned?
Still, I write, and I live in the midst
of this mad-dog world, as
lives that oak: it knows they'll be cutting
it down; that white cross
on it signals: tomorrow the treemen
will buzz-saw the region;
calmly it waits for that fate, yet it sprouts
new leaves in the meantime.

Not only are the poems written in the thirties filled with disquieting premonitions about the future; they proved to be prophetic because so many of them foreshadow the poet's own violent death. What may have seemed at the time little more than the anxieties and obsessions of a hypersensitive artist strike the postwar reader as sober preparations, mental training, for that long forced march, that summary execution. But even in his darkest moments Radnóti was sustained by his faith in the human spirit, in love, in reason. In fact it is his last poems, in his famous eclogues, in lines addressed to his wife, Fanni, that despair, resignation, nostalgia yield most readily to defiant hope. "Oh, if you could believe that I haven't merely borne what is worthwhile, in my heart; that there *is*, to return, a home," he writes in the poem "Forced March," and ends the verse with these lines:

But all that could return—
just look at tonight's full moon!
Don't go past me, my friend—
shout! and I'll rise again.

In death's jaws Radnóti still watches, listens—and records. His final "Postcard" is dated October 31, 1944:

I fell beside him; his body turned
over, already taut as a string rope
about to snap. Shot in the back of
the neck. That's how you too will
end,
I whispered to myself:
just lie quietly
Patience now flowers into death.
Der springt noch auf,
a voice said above me.
On my ear, blood dried,
mixed with filth.

Radnóti is not an easy poet to translate. Thoroughly modern in spirit, his poems are for the most part traditional in form, and for him, as for many other Hungarian poets, form is as important a carrier of the poem's message as content. The Vergilian hexameters used in the eclogues, fixed metric patterns and rhyme in general, obviously present difficulties for the translator. It's even harder to find the right equivalent for Radnóti's diction which is formal, stately, though not artificial as some critics have suggested.

PASTORAL AIDS

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What characterizes his style is a kind of elevated simplicity which, in another language, can easily sound mannered or inappropriately colloquial. Emery George does not always succeed in avoiding these pitfalls, but an undertaking as formidable as this—translating complete works has to be the ultimate labor of love—is bound to have its weak points. Generally speaking, one must get used to a translation. As strange as it may sound, knowing the original can be a hindrance: one becomes too harsh a critic. A work in translation may hold its own and suffer only when compared too closely with the original. To equal a poet's achievement is well-nigh impossible; what can be done—and Emery George is all for it—is to find the words the poet would have used if he wrote his verses in the language into which they are being translated.

Despite the unique problems posed by Radnóti's work, it's clear that he is one Hungarian poet who should be read in other languages, if only because he was a true European—mindful of his native heritage, but always open to new cultural stimuli. In his prefatory essay Emery George calls attention to numerous subtle correspondences, parallels, echoes, revealing just how thoroughly Radnóti assimilated the Western poetic tradition. He rejected the more aggressive "isms" of the twentieth century, but he didn't reject the century. He was among the first in his country to translate Apollinaire, Cendrars, Trakl. He turned his back on his petty-bourgeois background and embraced the ideals of the intellectual left. Born a Jew, he became attracted to Catholicism. (The contemporary Hungarian poet István Vas, who was a good friend of Radnóti, has written in his memoirs that whereas he, Vas, had said as a young man: "I don't want to be a Jew," Radnóti claimed simply: "I am not a Jew." According to Soviet émigré writer Simon Markish, such an attitude reveals a "mental state [that] borders on the pathological." [See *Commentary*, December, 1978, p. 38.] Vas, in response to Markish's observation, maintains that Radnóti was "the sanest of all of us": his strength lay in being totally immune to a hostile, harmful environment. Perhaps it was this immunity that enabled him to create up to the very end, although in one of the Lager poems ("The Seventh Eclogue") he does cry out: "*Is* there a home, where people can savor hexameter language?"

In his greatest poems Radnóti combined the moral imperatives of the Judeo-Christian tradition with an evocation of the classical ideals of beauty. It's above all this totally harmonious fusion of esthetic and moral values that makes his poetry timeless, hence meaningful in any language.

Moral institutions in immoral societies

BEYOND THE IVORY TOWER

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE MODERN UNIVERSITY.

Derek Bok

Harvard, $15.95, 318 pp.

William J. Byron

SOCIETY'S problems require "principled replies," not immediate solutions, from the universities which society supports. The principles behind an appropriate academic response are three, writes Harvard president Derek Bok, a lawyer whose experience in these matters is anything but insignificant. The three basic principles set limits on the academy's collective or corporate response to society's needs. Academic freedom, institutional autonomy in academic matters, and the principle of institutional neutrality; each or all will condition any given response by trustees, presidents, and deans to issues which, in the view of student activists, faculty critics, an intruding government, or an outraged community conscience, call for action from within the academy. There are indeed both academic (teaching, research, technical assistance) and non-academic (boycotts, stock divestiture, protest statement) ways of responding to social pressures and problems. Not surprisingly, the academic are seen as more appropriate. But application of the basic principles will, as evidenced in the many cases discussed in this book, restrain the resulting response, Non-academic tactics are considered by President Bok to be, in the main, inappropriate, ineffective, and unacceptable on any administrative cost-benefit scale.

"Principled judgment," "principled standard," "principled manner," and "principled response," along with "principled replies," remind the reader that reason and reflection enjoy special respect in the house of intellect. Some students, faculty, state agencies, and organizations within the civic community will not disagree with that but will still hope for something more than perfect balance within the academy as the larger society tries to hold or repair its splitting seams. Many would like to see the ivory tower lean a bit. Derek Bok's book is an amicus brief in support of the main line argument for balance on the public issues and preservation of academic assets for continued academic service through the long run.

Always searching for the "merits of the case," Mr. Bok treats with care and admirable respect both sides of every argument associated with affirmative action, preferential admissions, or hiring for racial minorities, issues of research for war and peace, academic and commercial cooperation in basic research, technical assistance to foreign governments, accepting gifts with or without strings, taking political stands, participating in boycotts, and the multiple relationships of a university to its local tax-collecting and service-providing government. Trustees, presidents, deans, and others close to university administration will find the argumentation interesting. Others, with the possible exception of the administration's activist adversaries, are unlikely to possess the staying power required to track the pros and cons through to the one concluding generalization offered by the author. Universities should address social needs through normal academic functions, namely, teaching, research, and technical assistance. They should take "special pains" to enroll minority students. They should aid economic progress and prod-

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uctivity, by permitting their research discoveries to be translated into useful products. They should export knowledge to the poorer nations. But beyond this, the concluding generalization will not stretch to an endorsement of the boycott, stock divestiture (rather, keep your stock and work for change through shareholder resolutions), or publishing institutional statements on political issues (let academic persons speak as individuals and as they wish on these matters).

The author's commitment to academic freedom, to the protection of the academy from coercion from without, and to the maintenance of institutional neutrality is admirable. But the book he has built on these three pillars is incomplete and unsatisfying. It fails to recognize that a moral institution might have to be off balance in an immoral society. It assumes that a completely secular university is also a complete university and, in function of this, fails to acknowledge that faith, religion, and theology are all important for social responsibility.

To give full respect to academic freedom is not to declare helplessness in the face of the abuse of academic freedom. To have a church-relationship or an institutional faith-commitment is not to compromise academic integrity, nor is it a denial of institutional autonomy. It is, in fact, a requirement of academic freedom in a faith-committed context, to permit, in response to societal needs, both actions and expressions of ideas which may seem "out of place" in other contexts, particularly in those houses of intellect where faith and reason are regarded as unrelated and incompatible.

President Bok's chapter on "The Moral Development of Students" is disappointing. He asserts that families, churches, and lower schools have all declined in influence and implies that universities can fill this moral vacuum. He surveys, not too scientifically, past practice and finds little, if anything, in the area of "applied ethics" in the American college classroom in the middle of this century. In response to Watergate and related discoveries of moral nomads in high places, however, the academy has begun only lately to take the teaching of ethics seriously.

Some colleges have been teaching ethics quite well for a very long time. They would not claim complete success (some of their alumni showed up in the Watergate hearings too!), but they are not newcomers to the exercise.

Most educators will agree with Mr. Bok that the goal of classroom ethics is to bring students "to reason more carefully about moral issues." Few would disagree that discussion of these issues is more pedagogically productive than lectures on them. And all will find helpful his inventory of the skills and qualities the good teacher of ethics should possess. But absent from the chapter is a discussion of the process of moral development (despite the extensive research on this topic in Harvard's Graduate School of Education). Also absent is any indication that theological reflection has a role in all of this.

Although this book has serious limitations, it is a welcome addition to the literature on higher education administration. Mr. Bok has set high standards for the additional reflection needed on the modern university's social responsibilities.

In brief

HOMETOWN: A CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN CHRONICLE, *by Peter Davis, Simon & Schuster, $14.95, (331 pp.)*

Stirring facts into a fiction to give it body is an honorable trick of storytelling. Blending fiction into facts to lend them drama is, however, lying, plain and simple.

If Peter Davis's book were but a story, it would be dramatic reading. But Davis is an award-winning newsman and filmmaker ("Hearts and Minds," "The Selling of the Pentagon," and last spring, on PBS TV, "Middletown," the video version of this book). *Hometown*, which the Library of Congress catalogs as history, is actually docudrama, a genre which, in Davis's hands, aspires "to combine categories of social research with techniques of storytelling" by

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melding the art of Sherwood Anderson with the social science of Robert and Helen Lynd.

The result is bastardy. Hamilton, Ohio, we are asked to believe here, can stand for all America, if viewed closely, carefully. But *Hometown* is a version of America, not a vision, and is as much an editorial as raw, untutored news.

Hamilton—America—is depicted in scenes that are unrelievedly tawdry, vulgar. Here a commonplace wedding, a prototypical ballgame; there, an ordinary street shooting, a familiar strike. The documentary camera magnifies our every follicle until, like Gulliver in the land of the Brobdingnagians, we are revolted by every wart and mole. Seen upclose and impersonal, Hamilton/America is a drab, infernal place, "united against outsiders, divided against itself."

Maybe this is a truth about our society. But it is not the whole truth nor is it nothing but the truth.

PAUL CONNOLLY

VOICES OF PROTEST, *by Alan Brinkley. Alfred A. Knopf, $18.50, 348 pp.*

Alan Brinkley logically links Father Charles E. Coughlin's and Governor (later Senator) Huey Long's movements during the darkest years of the Great Depression of the thirties. The Louisiana politician's "Share Our Wealth Society" and the Michigan priest's "National Union for Social Justice" were manifestations of "the urge to defend the autonomy of the individual and the independence of the community against encroachments from the modern industrial state."

At the height of their movements, each of the protesters commanded the loyalty of millions of Americans alienated from an economic system whose profits they did not share in, and a progressive government of liberal intellectuals who did not always successfully conceal their dread of mass movements, in truth, of the working class itself.

Father Coughlin's notorious anti-Semitism, for which he is probably better remembered than his demands for a more equitable distribution of wealth, did not emerge until the twilight of his career. It was seemingly a mean-spirited response to his declining prestige. In the end he was perceived by most Americans as an egomaniac far more concerned with personal power and influence than social issues.

The Second World War delivered the mortal blow to an expiring movement. Patriotism became the order of the day for rich and poor alike and class dissension was put aside for the duration.

Voices of Protest is a melancholy reminder that little progress has been made towards a real resolution of the issues addressed by the Coughlin-Long movements and that our society is surely as fragmented today as it was fifty years ago.

SEAN CALLERY

REVIEWERS

FRED SIEGEL. *an American historian, is teaching this year at the University of Paris.*

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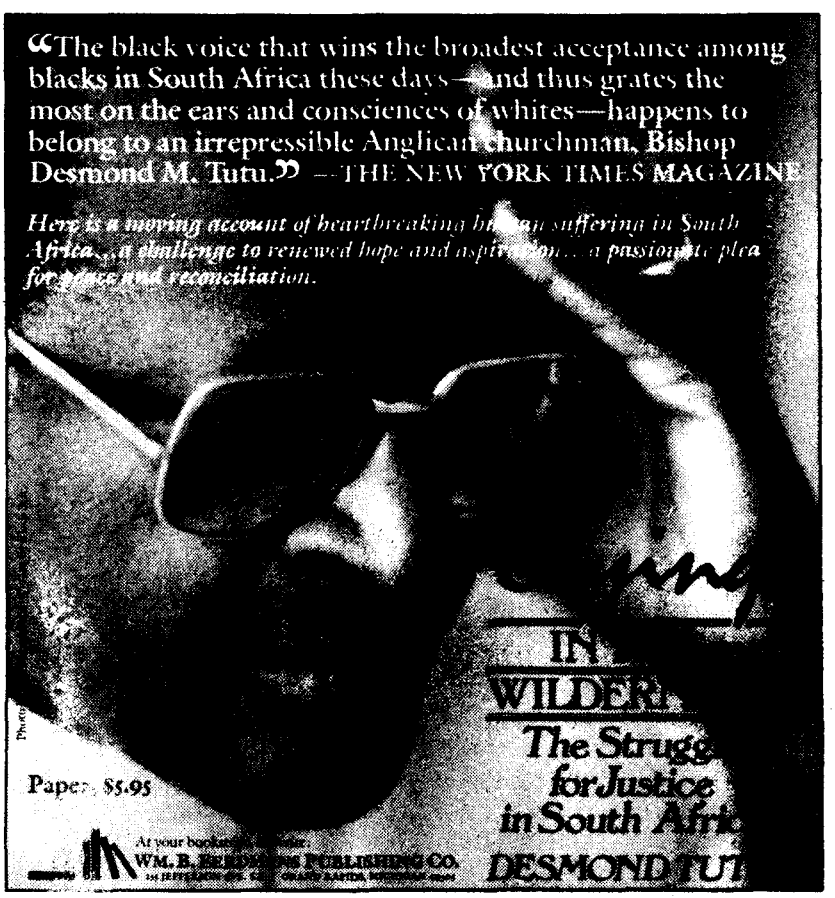
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(Continued from page 546)

Modernist mode would be too much of a price for Newman to pay.

(REV.) JOHN W. CURRAN, O.F.M. CONV.

Apostolate of intellect

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: In *America* (Oct. 25, 1975) I published a brief article entitled, "Should Cardinal Newman Be Canonized?" The answer to the question — at least by implication — was "yes"

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and that for several of the reasons advanced by Father Kelly [Sept. 10.] In the intervening seven years the evidence of Newman's influence for the betterment of those touched by his religious thought has deepened and spread. That to my mind offers one valid reason for the cause to move forward. Our age is desperately in need of heroes and heroines whose lives mirror personal integrity, high moral principle, and fidelity to a belief in the "things unseen." To all of these Newman bore unfailing witness. True, he was sensitive, but if that character trait were a bar sinister to canonization, how did Saint Jerome *et al.*, make it?

Canonization is not the attestation of personal perfection. It is rather the church's tribute to one whose strength of character rose above the world's contagion after repeated falls and stumbles to fix an ultimate ideal, a bridge, as Morris West said of Pope John XXIII, "across which we poor devils may hope one day to scramble to salvation." And there is no category of humankind more in need of such a sign as this than the intellectuals, within and without the Catholic community.

There may be doubts about certain aspects of Newman's life, but of his possession of a powerful and seminal mind that has attracted countless intellectuals, and that in increasing numbers, there can be no doubt. The Curé of Ars and Maria Goretti make their real and genuine appeal to their respective constituencies. Have not the intellectuals a right to theirs? To be sure, Newman would not be the first, but it would be altogether fitting were his name to be joined to those of Augustine, Aquinas, and to Teresa, the great lady of Avila who departed this world four-hundred years ago this October, to name only three.

I have no way of knowing the motive that has prompted Pope John Paul II to speak warmly more than once of Newman's cause. I suspect, however, that it bears a relation to the cardinal's extraordinary contribution to the apostolate of the intellect. That, plus his many exemplary virtues, entitle him to the honor.

If, as has been frequently said, Vatican Council II was Newman's council, so his canonization in this late twentieth century might well be seen as the church's response to a "sign of the times," a signal that her ear is attuned to a current need for a model of virtue embodied in one of immense learning. As Margaret Roper is alleged to have said of Cardinal Pole, so may it be said of Newman, that he was "as noble as he was learned in all branches of letters, no less conspicuous for his virtue than for his learning."

(REV.) JOHN TRACY ELLIS
Professorial Lecturer in
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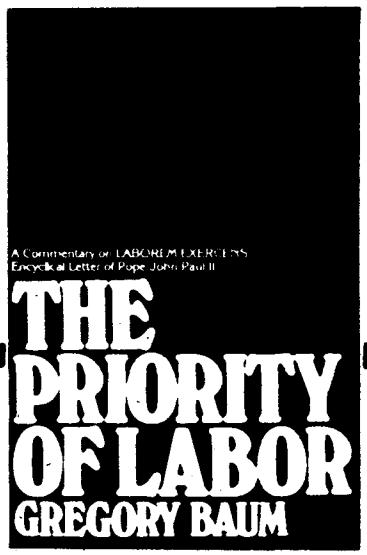

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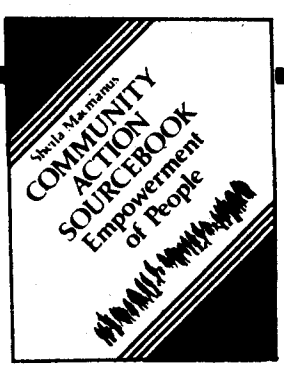

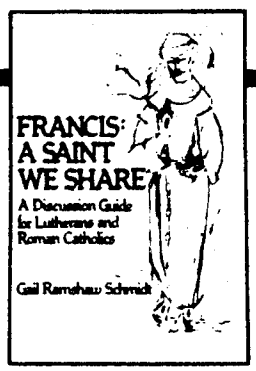

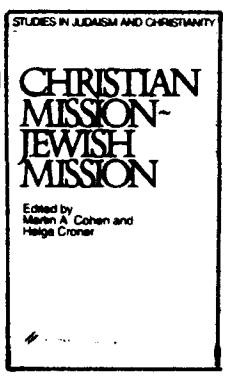

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